

1974

Marital and familial roles on television: an exploratory sociological analysis

Charles Daniel Fisher
Iowa State University

Follow this and additional works at: <https://lib.dr.iastate.edu/rtd>



Part of the [Family, Life Course, and Society Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Fisher, Charles Daniel, "Marital and familial roles on television: an exploratory sociological analysis " (1974). *Retrospective Theses and Dissertations*. 5984.
<https://lib.dr.iastate.edu/rtd/5984>

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Iowa State University Capstones, Theses and Dissertations at Iowa State University Digital Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Retrospective Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Iowa State University Digital Repository. For more information, please contact digirep@iastate.edu.

INFORMATION TO USERS

This material was produced from a microfilm copy of the original document. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or patterns which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting thru an image and duplicating adjacent pages to insure you complete continuity.
2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a large round black mark, it is an indication that the photographer suspected that the copy may have moved during exposure and thus cause a blurred image. You will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame.
3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., was part of the material being photographed the photographer followed a definite method in "sectioning" the material. It is customary to begin photoing at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue photoing from left to right in equal sections with a small overlap. If necessary, sectioning is continued again -- beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.
4. The majority of users indicate that the textual content is of greatest value, however, a somewhat higher quality reproduction could be made from "photographs" if essential to the understanding of the dissertation. Silver prints of "photographs" may be ordered at additional charge by writing the Order Department, giving the catalog number, title, author and specific pages you wish reproduced.
5. PLEASE NOTE: Some pages may have indistinct print. Filmed as received.

Xerox University Microfilms

300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

74-15,424

FISHER, Charles Daniel, 1944-
MARITAL AND FAMILIAL ROLES ON TELEVISION: AN
EXPLORATORY SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS.

Iowa State University, Ph.D., 1974
Sociology, family

University Microfilms, A XEROX Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan

Marital and familial roles on television:

An exploratory sociological analysis

by

Charles Daniel Fisher

A Dissertation Submitted to the
Graduate Faculty in Partial Fulfillment of
The Requirements for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department: Sociology and Anthropology
Major: Sociology

Approved:

Signature was redacted for privacy.

In Charge of Major Work

Signature was redacted for privacy.

For the Major Department

Signature was redacted for privacy.

For the Graduate College

Iowa State University
Ames, Iowa

1974

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | Page |
|---|------|
| CHAPTER I. THE INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| The Prevalence of Television | 3 |
| The Impact of Television | 7 |
| The Statement of the Problem | 14 |
| CHAPTER II. THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK | 18 |
| The Functional Analysis of Mass Communication | 18 |
| The Cultural Norms Theory | 34 |
| The Socialization Process for Marital and Familial Roles | 53 |
| CHAPTER III. THE METHODOLOGY | 67 |
| CHAPTER IV. THE SAMPLE | 79 |
| CHAPTER V. THE FINDINGS: MARITAL AND FAMILIAL PORTRAYALS ON TELEVISION | 86 |
| The Implications of Televised Role Behaviors for Society | 87 |
| The Implications of Televised Role Behaviors for the Conjugal Unit | 111 |
| The Realism of the Televised Role Behaviors | 126 |
| The Summary | 138 |
| CHAPTER VI. THE SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH | 143 |
| The Hypotheses for Future Research | 143 |
| THE BIBLIOGRAPHY | 152 |
| THE APPENDIX A | 165 |
| THE APPENDIX B | 189 |
| THE APPENDIX C | 209 |

CHAPTER I. THE INTRODUCTION

Communication for human beings is both fundamental and vitally important to the continuance of human society. From primitive times to the present, society has depended on the capacity to transmit intentions, desires, feelings, needs, knowledge and experience from one person to another. It would seem inevitable that such an important process, one so basic to the very existence of human society, would have been thoroughly investigated and researched. This, however, has not been the case. Only recently has communication become an area of interest for the social scientists.

The essence of this paper is not directed at communication in general. Its scope is limited to that aspect identified as mass communication. Mass communication is differentiated from other forms of human communication in that it refers to "...the relatively simultaneous exposure of large heterogeneous audiences to symbols transmitted by impersonal means from an organized source for whom the audience members are anonymous" (Larsen, 1964:348). It should also be noted that mass communication as used in a sociological sense is not to be equated with the technological knowledge necessary to transmit such messages.

In this transmission of symbols to large heterogeneous audiences, messages are not sent to any specific individual. This definition of communication excludes letters, telegrams, telephone calls, etc. Although the term "audience" can refer to any size group from a dozen listening to a lecture to several million watching the same television special, it usually is restricted to the latter type, where it is not possible for

the communicator to interact with the members on a one-to-one basis.

Secondly, the members of the audience are heterogeneous in that they are not all of the same age, social class, etc. In other words, they form an aggregation of individuals from varied socio-economic statuses as well as educational and occupational levels. Also, the individual members of an audience generally remain anonymous to each other as well as to the communicator. It should be noted, however, that the ubiquity of the media as well as the standardization of content does provide a general context for interpersonal communication.

Exposure to the mass communication message is rapid, public, and transient. It is rapid because the message often reaches several million people at one time as compared to those works of art in museums that are seen by relatively few. The message is public in that it is not directed at any particular individual and is open, therefore, for public surveillance. The message is transient in that it is usually not preserved for posterity (of course, there are exceptions such as magazines, periodicals, etc.). One of the most rapid, public and transient of the mass communication phenomena is the medium of television. It is toward this medium that the focus of this paper is ultimately directed.

This investigation is timely in that the impact of television is a contemporary real-world problem. It is a real-world problem in the sense that with a decreasing work week, and an enlarging population, an ever enlarging aggregate of people may be turning to television as a substitute for time formerly spent in work. What are the effects of increasing television viewing? Of particular concern regarding effects is the question

of violence, a concern great enough to generate congressional hearings on broadcast violence. But violence is only one message out of many that needs to be investigated. What other messages may television broadcast? Few answers exist.

In addition to being a real-world problem the impact of television is also a sociological problem. If sociology includes among its goals understanding, explanation, and prediction of social phenomena, then it would be remiss in not investigating a medium toward which so much of the populace directs its attention. Furthermore, sociological methods have not been utilized extensively in mass communication research. Therefore, it is a goal of this writer to contribute a parcel of knowledge to sociological literature containing a theoretical perspective, a methodological technique, and the development of testable hypotheses that may be investigated at some future date.

The Prevalence of Television

The technological capacities for the development of television were formulated in the latter 1920's and early 1930's. In 1931, Vladimir Zworykin eliminated the need for a cumbersome scanning disc, thereby providing a major technological breakthrough for the expanded use of television. On July 1, 1941, the Federal Communications Commission approved commercial television; by the end of that year, there were six communication stations and approximately 10,000 sets, half in New York City. Although production was interrupted by World War II, it picked up later; by January 1948, 102,000 sets; by April the number of sets had

doubled. During 1948, one million sets were manufactured, compared with 179,000 in 1947, and 6,500 in 1946 (Bogart, 1960:102).

Although a rather recent invention, having been on the American scene some thirty years, the ubiquity of television is incontrovertible. Each evening in the comfort of one's living room, the television networks review the happenings of the day for the viewer. The viewer, if he is interested, can be exposed to various works of art from around the world by viewing the educational channel. On the other hand, if he wants a relaxing evening of entertainment, this is also provided by the television medium. Many times each week one finds the viewer engrossed in viewing something that is taking place that very minute in some far corner of the world. Several examples of this from early Spring of 1972 would include the Winter Olympics broadcast from Sapporo, Japan, or the historical visit of President Nixon to the People's Republic of China. Perhaps the epitome of the technical competence as well as the availability of almost anything to the American viewer in the comforts of his home was reached when the viewer had the opportunity to watch Neil Armstrong put man's first step on the moon!

The growth of television has certainly been dramatic. It has become (along with radio) ubiquitous throughout the United States. The following table depicts the number of television sets in use in the United States.

Table 1

The number of television sets in the United States (1946-67)^a

| Year | Monochrome Sets in Use (1000's) | Color Sets (1000's) | Total No. of Households (1000's) | Monochrome Sets per Household | Color Sets per Household |
|------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1946 | 8 | | 38,370 | .0002 | |
| 1947 | 250 | | 39,107 | .0064 | |
| 1948 | 1000 | | 40,523 | .0247 | |
| 1949 | 4000 | | 42,182 | .0948 | |
| 1950 | 10500 | | 43,554 | .2411 | |
| 1951 | 15750 | | 44,656 | .3527 | |
| 1953 | 28000 | | 46,334 | .6043 | |
| 1957 | 47200 | | 49,543 | .9527 | |
| 1960 | 55500 | 200 | 52,799 | 1.0512 | .0038 |
| 1961 | 57600 | 400 | 53,464 | 1.0774 | .0075 |
| 1962 | 60800 | 800 | 54,652 | 1.1125 | .0146 |
| 1963 | 65000 | 1600 | 55,189 | 1.1778 | .0290 |
| 1964 | 70000 | 3000 | 55,996 | 1.2501 | .0536 |
| 1965 | 75000 | 5000 | 57,251 | 1.3100 | .0873 |
| 1966 | 78500 | 9700 | 58,092 | 1.3513 | .1670 |
| 1967 | 81500 | 12700 | 58,845 | 1.3850 | .2158 |

^aSources: U. S. Bureau of Census, 1960; U. S. Bureau of Census, 1967; The World Almanac, 1969; as cited in DeFleur, 1970.

It is apparent from the table that the growth of the presence of the television set has been rapid. It has been estimated that over ninety percent of all families in the United States have one or more television sets, utilizing them on an average of five to six hours per day (Danish, 1963). In 1963, Appell indicated that there were more homes with television sets than phones, cars, bathtubs, or refrigerators. As of April 1970, 96% of all households in the United States had at least one set; 29% had two or more (Statistical Abstract, 1972:497). By household annual

income, of families having less than \$3,000 income in 1971, 77% had at least one black & white set and 16% had a color set. Of those families having incomes of \$25,000 and over, 82% had black and white sets while 79% had color sets (Statistical Abstract, 1972:328). The following figure gives some indication of the growth of the number of sets per household.

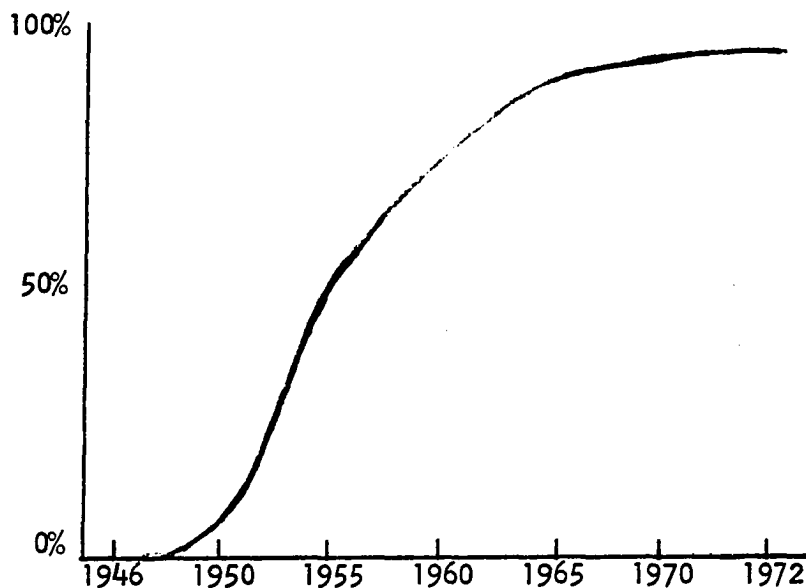


Figure 1

Percentage of American homes with one or more television sets:

1946-1972 (Liebert, 1973:6)

Concerning viewing time, LoSciuto indicated that in his sample of some 250 families, the median viewing time per day was 183 minutes or 3 hours and three minutes (1971:54). On the average, an adult in the United States will spend ten years of his life before the set (Looney, 1971).

Of particular concern to some writers is the amount of time that pre-school children spend in front of the television set. "By the time they (pre-schoolers) enter first grade, they will have received more hours of instruction from television networks than they will later receive from college profs while earning a bachelor's degree" (Johnson, 1970:14). In terms of the number of hours involved, this approaches some 22,000 hours before the television as compared to 11,000 in the classroom (Looney, 1971). Long before the child walks, he is familiar with the fast moving and entertaining "box". In light of the preceding statistics plus other available data on the amount of viewing and types of programing presented, many people are very concerned about the impact of television on the viewer as well as society at large.

The Impact of Television

The question concerning the impact of television is certainly not just a recent issue. For at least two decades critics have been concerned about all sorts of negative effects that television may have on the viewer. These waves of concern peaked when Congressional Hearings on Mass Media were held in Washington, D. C., on October 16, 17 and December 18-20, 1968. The findings of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence did not turn up conclusive evidence one way or the other concerning television. In 1971, the United States Department of HEW published a five-volume collection of papers and research findings concerning television violence. Although in many instances positive relationships between viewed violence and subsequent aggressive behavior were found, Television

and Social Behavior did not provide final and conclusive evidence on this issue.

The debate continues with arguments that television viewing is biologically dangerous because of X-ray emissions, creates passivity in the viewer, and debases culture (Meyersohn, 1957:345). Counter arguments present material to indicate that television has made available to most people a wide spectrum of information, entertainment and cultural experiences (Danish, 1963:307).

Gunther Anders, in his article "The Phantom World of TV", contends that now each individual is treated as a mass man, all being served the same identical product. "Through the consumption of mass commodities... mass men are produced. The individuality of each human being is being erased in the comforts of the living room rocker" (1957:360). Succinctly, Ander's criticisms are:

1. Television threatens to dissolve the family under the guise of fostering intimacy within the family. The outside world (real or fiction) dominates family life.
2. Television sets now speak in the place of the person and that this creates passivity in people. People no longer entertain each other; they are entertained by others.
3. Since the world is brought into our own homes, we do not need to explore it. As a result we do not have to acquire personal experience. Man now travels as a last resort (1957:360).

(One might note, however, the extensive development and utilization of the automobile and self-contained mobile homes as vacation vehicles. Many people must be traveling, as evidenced by the over-crowding of many national parks).

The reader may remember the "Person-to-Person" television show hosted by Edward R. Murrow. This program took the viewer into other peoples' homes. According to Hausknecht (1957), this program is *prima facie* evidence that people living in gold fish bowls now has become reality. There is nothing wrong *per se* with the living room becoming a public domain. However, Hausknecht indicates this is "anticipatory socialization", socialization that will make adjustment in some future situation easier. In particular, he feels that the microphone will become common place in everyone's life and that such programs will make us ready for that time.

Otto Larsen has outlined in a parsimonious fashion the social effects of mass media, of which television is one important medium:

1. It has facilitated the manipulation of symbols as in marketing, public relations, entertainment, and marketing research.
2. Mass communication has become the major means for expediting the flow of information, thus extending the horizon of every man's environment.
3. Mass communication has not only introduced new content into the patterns of conversation and interpersonal interaction but has also become a force for the standardization of basic speech patterns and other language habits.
4. The mass media have become a major arbiter of social status. The media manipulate prestige and authority simply by giving or withholding attention and recognition to persons, issues, organizations, and movements.
5. Mass communication has given new emphasis to personality as a factor in social and political life. The media are a major source for identifying and evaluating heroes and villains and thus provide significant role models that serve as socializing agents in society.
6. Mass communication has altered family patterns. The media challenge traditional lines of authority by influencing the basis for family formation through the portrayal of romantic values, by offering guidance on family problems, by redefin-

ing parental roles and reinforcing the prerogatives of children, and by creating new choice points in the budgeting of family recreational activities.

7. Mass communication, coupled with mass production, has magnified material values, created "thing" consciousness, and generally elevated the perception of the importance of the economic sphere.
8. Mass communication has speeded the processes of cultural diffusion, has brought urban values and attitudes to rural settings, and has generally served as an agent fostering social change (1964:353).

Granted that the mass media (including television) might have the above affects, the "Commission on Obscenity and Pornography" (on which Otto Larsen served) would appear to be of the impression that these media do not have any effects on the users. Among its conclusions the commission suggested several legislative recommendations. In general outline, it recommended that federal, state and local legislation should not seek to interfere with the rights of adults who wish to read, obtain, or view explicit sexual materials. The commission did recommend, however, that such material be prohibited to young persons who do not have their parents' consent and also legislation to prevent this material from being thrust upon these youths without the necessary consent. This general legislative recommendation was based upon "extensive empirical investigation, both by the commission and by others, (which) provides no evidence that exposure to or use of explicit sexual materials plays a significant role in the causation of social or individual harm such as crime, delinquency, sexual or nonsexual deviancy or severe emotional disturbances" (Larsen and Wolfgang, 1970:57,58).

A minority statement by Otto Larsen and Marvin Wolfgang, "...recom-

mends no specific statutory restrictions on obscenity or pornography" (1970:446). They argue that definitional problems about obscenity and pornography would continue rendering any future legislation ambiguous, unenforceable, and open to excessive subjectivity by the police and courts.

This stand by Larsen and Wolfgang might appear to be in contradiction to the previous statements in which Larsen outlines the various effects of mass communication. It would appear that Larsen is saying that this specific form of media content has no effect. What Larsen is stating is that this material has no deleterious effect. "There is no substantial evidence that exposure to juveniles is necessarily harmful. There may even be beneficial effects if for no other reason than the encouragement of open discussion about sex between parents and children relatively early in young lives" (1970:447).

Klapper, however, has argued that the matter of the effects of mass media is not as clear as Larsen indicates. Klapper tentatively proposes that:

1. Mass communication ordinarily does not serve as a necessary and sufficient cause of audience effects, but rather functions among and through a nexus of mediating factors and influences.
2. These mediating factors are such that they typically render mass communications a contributory agent but not the sole cause in a process of reinforcing the existing conditions.
3. When mass communications do function in the area of change, either the mediating factors are inoperative, or the mediating factors are themselves impelling toward change.
4. The efficiency of mass communication, either as a contributory agent or as an agent of direct action, is affected by various aspects of the media and communications themselves or of the communication setting (the nature of the source and medium,

the existing climate of public opinion, etc.) (1960:8).

In essence, then, rather than unequivocally stating that mass communication has certain effects (e.g., Larsen), Klapper's approach attempts to assess stimuli in terms of their contributions along with other influences operating in the same total observed situation.

Schramm (1957) is in agreement with Klapper when he indicates, "Mass communication never acts by itself on an individual. Whatever effect mass communication has, it will have jointly with other determining forces, of which the most important are two: the individual's personality resources and his group relationships" (53,54). Personality resources are those values and attitudes built up over a period of time that govern one's responses to new as well as recurring experiences. By group relationships, Schramm refers to those people one works with, plays with or lives with, as well as the standards, customs, and opinions held in common. Man lives in groups, as small as the family or as large as society. Much of what one learns comes from group associations. The idea of a mass audience "...an audience of separated individuals, receiving mass communication like a hypodermic needle under their individual skins, and reacting individually to it" (1957:54) is just not the case.

Man is far from a tabula rasa, or clean slate, for mass communication to write on. By the time a voter sees a Presidential candidate on television he has had at least 21 years of experience with human beings. He has learned what to expect from political oratory....He has built up a sense of values which lead him to react positively or negatively to much of what the candidate will say....In other words, before he even sits down to the television set, he is prepared to react in a pre-set way to whatever comes out of it (Schramm, 1957:54,55).

What, then, are some of the readily-apparent effects of television as

a medium of its own? One apparent consequence is that "television, the most massified of the mass media, the one with the largest and most heterogeneous audience, has become central to the leisure routine of majorities at every level" (occupational, educational, social and religious) (Wilensky, 1964:195). "Television has become a habit; it has taken up more than its share of the increasing leisure (free) time" (Meyersohn, 1957:360). "Television takes up more American leisure time than any other activity" (Rosenberg and White, 1957:11). "Empirical data have indicated that in homes with television as opposed to those which do not have, occupants do less reading and visiting than those without" (McDonagh, 1950:115).

Some of the previous authors condemned television for the creation of passivity and the laying of the foundations of 1984. Not all writers agree. Danish argues that an objective of television viewing can be the enrichment of relationships within the family unit by the encouragement of healthy, interpersonal attitudes and behavior. Television can do this by presenting materials which have been created, at least in part, to educate, to inform, to encourage or inspire. Danish's examples would include the various documentaries produced by the networks as well as the recurrent programs such as "Divorce Court". In addition, television, because of its strong appeal to children, provides an opportunity for parents to explore with their children the social and emotional aspects of human experience. Finally, it can be a focal point for a lesson in sharing and planning for family activities.

This writer is of the opinion that the television medium is an im-

portant technological as well as social element of the third quarter of the twentieth century. This is not to be denied. However, it is only one of many innovations of modern technology; to claim that television per se is the primary transmitter of all that is either socially desirable or undesirable is untenable. The impact of television must be investigated in a much broader context, a context that includes other media exposures, various group settings of the viewer, the predisposition of the viewer, etc. Therefore, one must be skeptical of any sweeping generalizations that are made about the quality of the impact that television has had for the contemporary society. Certainly it has had an impact; the extent of that impact remains a matter of considerable debate.

The Statement of the Problem

Despite the many hours of exposure to television, our experiences are both limited and selective. It is impossible for any viewer to watch all of the programs that are available to him in just one day let alone over any extended period of time. Furthermore our knowledge about the content of the programs viewed is biased by personal tastes and ideas.

Charles Wright (1959) indicates that people tend to overgeneralize from communication experiences. If one sees several instances of violence on television programs, then all programs are violent. Furthermore, seldom does one explore the sociologically meaningful aspects of the television content.

With so little having been done on both the content and impact of television, it is necessary that further explorations be undertaken. This

project deals with television's portrayals of contemporary marriage and family interaction. Specifically, the project focuses on television's portrayals of the various behaviors displayed by the incumbents in the status-roles of husband-father and wife-mother. Succinctly what are the role behaviors that actors and actresses on television are displaying as they play these respective roles? The exploration of televised material on the institution of marriage and family will provide not only insight into the broad topic of television's effects, but will also provide additional sociological data regarding this major institution.

The three major objectives of this project are: (1) to generate a theoretical framework by which one can investigate television's marital and familial role behavior, (2) to develop a method by which marital and familial behaviors can be enumerated, and (3) to generate hypotheses for future research.

One approach to the understanding of the relationship between media content and the on-going society is provided by viewing the media as social systems operating within a specific external system - the set of social and cultural conditions composing the American society. Television, as one mass medium, is a subsystem of the larger American system.

A very important aspect of a social system's approach is the concept of the "function" of some repetitive social phenomenon within the system. The term "function" is synonymous with "consequence". An example, the repetitive practice of wearing a wedding ring by a married couple functions (or has the consequence) to remind them as well as others

that they exist as one couple. This practice contributes indirectly to maintaining their marriage (one subsystem). This practice has the same consequence for the institution of marriage and family (a subsystem of society) at the societal level as well. (For further discussion on a social system approach to mass communication see DeFleur, 1970: Chapter 8).

Although a functional approach to the content of television's portrayals relative to the institution of marriage and family provides insight into how this subsystem works, this approach does not touch on the issue of the "effects" of such content on the viewer. Secondly, a functional approach is heuristic for generating hypotheses, though these are not at present amenable to empirical testing. Therefore, a second theoretical approach is necessary to explore the impact of televised materials in a way that is testable.

The "cultural norms" theory assumes that mass communication can influence behavior. The theory postulates that the media may sustain existing patterns of behavior, alter existing patterns, or create new ones. "Since individual behavior is usually guided by cultural norms (or the actor's impression of what the norms are) with respect to a given topic or situation, the media would then serve indirectly to influence conduct" (DeFleur, 1970:129). In social psychological terms, media may provide a "definition of the situation" which may be taken by a medium user to be real. This definition provides guides for action which appear to be approved and supported by society. One's behavior is, therefore, shaped by exposure to mass media. The link between a functional analysis

of television and a cultural norms approach is created by postulating that a function of television is to "define the situation" in such a way as to support the American system. Specifically, television functions to socialize its viewers by "defining the situation" of the institution marriage and family by giving attention to certain cultural norms or values relative to this institution. The behaviors of television's husbands and wives may be perceived as being reflective of society's expectations, and, therefore, may serve as models of socially approved behaviors. An outline of such behaviors is noticeably absent from sociological literature.

CHAPTER II. THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The Functional Analysis of Mass Communication

Assuming that society is a social system, there are many parts or components working together to keep that system going. These parts may be called "subsystems". One of these subsystems is mass communication. For this project, television as one medium of mass communication is isolated for investigation. However, it functions in the same manner as does mass communication in maintenance of society.

The American society is a social system composed of stable, repetitive, and patterned actions that reflect the culture shared by members of society. Television, as a subsystem, provides viewers with stimuli that are socially and culturally based. To the extent that television broadcasts material consonant with socio-cultural expectations, it assists in maintaining the on-going social system. It is imperative that if the social system is to remain, the normative expectations of the various members of the society must be integrated by some common system of norms, values, mores, laws, etc. If these were not shared, the society could not remain. Television functions by broadcasting materials consonant with these expectations; in part this explains the ubiquity and extensive use of television in the United States.

The concept of a social system relates to television in that the latter functions to help maintain the common social and cultural external system. However, before continuing with this, a few words of clarification on the use of "function" in sociology. In defining "functions" one dis-

covers several meanings, not all of which are applicable to sociological usage. Succinctly, the various meanings are:

1. a social gathering (The function of the telethon...)
2. one's occupation (He functions as a...)
3. the activities assigned to the incumbent of a social position (The janitor's functions are...)
4. mathematical (X is a function of...)
5. in reference to the maintenance of the total organism (The function of A is to...)

It is the last meaning that has prevailed in sociology. A functional analysis in sociology focuses upon some specific social phenomenon occurring within a social system. An analysis would attempt to display how this phenomenon has consequences or functions for the stability and maintenance of the system. This analysis is, then, a technique for generating hypotheses. As indicated by Hempel:

The object of the (functional) analysis is some item "i" which is a relatively persistent trait or disposition... occurring in a system "s"...; and the analysis aims to show that "s" is in a state, or internal condition "c_i" and in an environment presenting certain external conditions "c_e" such that under conditions "c_i" and "c_e" (jointly referred to as "c") the trait "i" has effects which satisfy some "need" or functional requirement of s.i.e., a condition which is necessary for the system's remaining in adequate, or effective, or proper, working order. (In DeFleur, 1970:162).

A functional approach is theoretically concerned about the consequences of various persistent traits that assist in maintaining the larger external system. However, the empirical investigation of the interrelatedness of these traits and the maintenance of the social system is difficult if not

¹Merton, 1968, Chapter III.

impossible to do. This is a major weakness of the functional approach.

Conceptually, then, the content of mass media reflects a common value system and as such assists in maintaining the external social system. "The hypothesis that the mass media reflect value systems, satisfy needs of society, whether consciously or unconsciously held, furnishes the theoretical basis for extensive research in which the content of films and other mass media are analyzed" (Fearing, 1954:168).

An analysis utilizing a functional approach may consist of numerous "functions" of a given social phenomenon for the larger social system. Charles Wright (1964) has outlined various functions that television as a part of mass communication may have for contemporary society. His four major functions are presented in the following figure.

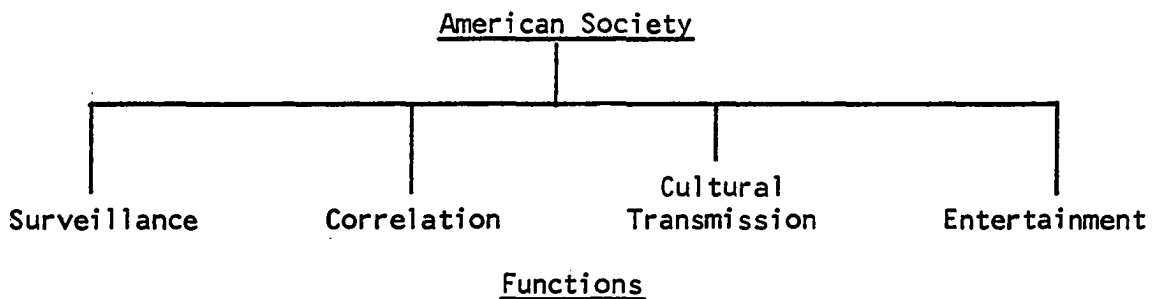


Figure 2

Major functions of mass communication

The above functions, of course, are interrelated and can't be completely isolated in the "real world". However, cultural transmission and entertainment are the primary functions for theoretical consideration; the interrelatedness of these will be discussed later.

Before continuing, one must also consider that these functions may be

one of three types:

Manifest functions - the objective consequences for a specified unit (person, subgroup, social, cultural system) which contribute to its adjustment or adaptation and were so intended.

Latent functions - the unintended and unrecognized consequences on the same order as above.

Dysfunctions - the consequences which have a deleterious effect on the integration or adaptation of the unit.

For example, the manifest function of entertainment is amusement and respite for the masses. Latently, entertainment increases social cohesion and continues the socialization process. Some (Anders, 1957; Hausknecht, 1957) would argue that the dysfunctions of entertainment include the debasement of culture.

Returning to Wright's functions, consider what it means to society and its individual members to have available a constant flow of data on events occurring not only within this society but the whole world as well.

Surveillance can provide warnings about immediate threats such as tornadoes. Forewarned, the populace can be better prepared. Secondly, surveillance is instrumental in providing institutional data such as what the stock market is doing, the various court proceedings, etc.

Surveillance through mass communication can also be dysfunctional. If news were not censored and editorialized, this might threaten the social order by fostering invidious comparisons with conditions at home. For a recent example, the presentation of the materials, people, and governmental agencies associated with the "Pentagon Papers" could be potentially dangerous to the social system if everything were made known to the populace. Perhaps the best example of a dysfunctional effect associated with

mass communication is the frequently-cited Orson Welles' broadcast of "An Invasion from Mars"; the radio story was presented as if it were a news broadcast which seemed to have incited panic in many viewers (Cantril et al., 1940). Subsequently, the same broadcast was aired in Quito, Ecuador. When these listeners found out it was a hoax, they burned the radio station.

The second function as presented by Wright concerns interpretation and prescription by the mass media. This refers to the prevention of such undesirable consequences as those above. This function includes not only reporting the objective facts, but also providing an interpretation of the importance and relevance associated with each news item. Some would argue that the entry of some reporters into the interpretation realm is actually dysfunctional for the society in that it enhances conformism because all the people have the same item interpreted the same way for them. This may weaken one's own critical faculties. Others would argue that interpretation is necessary to prevent the broadcasting of undesirable materials. The question then becomes, "Who decides what is undesirable?" This is the underlying issue of censorship.

Cultural transmission refers to the enlargement of a common core of values, norms, and experiences. It assists in standardizing stimuli in that mass media present the same package across a wide range of people. Also it serves as an agent for learning even after one has completed formal education.

Entertainment primarily is to provide respite for the masses. With a decreasing work week, an increasing population, an ever-enlarging aggregate of people may be utilizing mass media as a substitute for previous

work activity. It is, then, a major recreational form.

Additional functions of mass communication include status conferral, ethicizing, narcotization and canalization. The function of "status conferral" enhances persons' social positions by the attention given them by mass communication (Lazarsfeld and Merton, 1948). After all, if the media are going to spend time and money with this presentation, these people must be important; so might go the reasoning behind this function.

Further, they suggested the mass media function as an "ethicizing" or norm enforcement agency. If certain social conditions are exposed as being at variance with social mores, ecology, laws, etc., action may be forthcoming as a result of exposure by the media. Various newspaper writers or editors may feel that they are to be the "watchdogs" of their community, state, or nation and, as such, are always looking for things that appear to be "wrong".

Mass communications may also function as a narcotizing agent. Succinctly, since people have been exposed to all sorts of natural disasters, floods, famines, pestilence, violence, etc., via mass communications, they are, in a sense, anesthetized to becoming involved. People are able to remain aloof from the problems of the world. Such problems just don't bother them (Lazarsfeld and Merton, 1948).

Schramm (1957:1) indicates that mass communication may have a "canalizing" function. In essence this refers to the identification of personal needs or habits accompanied by media suggestions as to how these needs, wants, or habits may be satisfied. For example, assuming that women have a desire to smoke tobacco products other than cigarettes, advertisers have been increasingly creating the impression that small cigars or "Tiparillos"

are suitable for them. Note also that a few years ago a similar advertising campaign was marketed portraying women sneaking a cigarette in the basement or attic. The same advertisement today would seem quite out of place. Women smoking cigarettes is quite common now.

Each of the above functions could be theoretically explored for its unique contributions to the social system. Yet each is interrelated with the others; all must work together to protect and maintain the common integrated, cultural orientations. This is their principle and general function. The maintenance of the system (society) may be referred to as the "socio-cultural integration" function. The repetition of various social phenomena, regardless of their unique functions, have, because they are all interrelated, socio-cultural integration as their ultimate goal.

The socio-cultural integration function can be accomplished in several ways by the mass media. They can present only material that is consonant with the social and cultural norms and values. They can fail to present materials that may be dysfunctional to the system; or they can present new normative and cultural material. "The extent that mass communication has an influence upon the audience has stemmed not only from what is said, but more significantly from what is not said. For these media not only continue to affirm the status quo but "...they fail to raise essential questions about the structure of society" (Lazarsfeld and Merton, 1957:465). Mass media tend to maintain the system by the emission or omission of material. The few critical reviews of the system are lost in the flood of the more conformist materials. Even if a medium were to present non-conformist materials, these would be surrendered in the clash with economic gains.

Sensitive and non-conformist material may have to be omitted because of economic pressures.

It is not to be implied that by presenting only materials that are consonant with the maintenance of the system, that dysfunctions will not occur. On the contrary, not presenting all viewpoints or sides of an issue may be dysfunctional for members of the society. For example, mass media generally omit the presentation of:

1. the elite individual who gains unfair advantage in an undemocratic yet successful manner
2. the shortcomings of particular religious functionaries such as clergy, or the selfish rather than altruistic physician,
3. the critical review and analysis of our national or community values or standards,
4. the shortcomings of people in important roles such as mother, judge, chief executives, etc. (Breed, 1964:114)

An earlier comment by Robin Williams is appropriate:

It is as if there is a tacit agreement not to express or to become aware of what would be dysfunctional. We greatly need careful research in this area, for observation always shows the existence of a mass of specific devices for the suppression of disruptive elements. We suspect that a study of areas of blocked communication would often reveal conflicts that remain nondisabling only so long as they are kept from overt crystallization (1951:529).

As an example, the norms surrounding "motherhood" emphasize the point of the above discussion. Even in cases where it was obvious to the reporters present that this was not the case, mothers are reported as being devoted, concerned, affectionate, etc. In one instance, a mother whose child was undergoing major surgery displayed no apparent concern but, being very conscious of the presence of the reporters, was reported as being the deeply concerned, prayerful mother in the bedside manner so much stressed

in the value system surrounding motherhood (Breed, 1964). Court records as well as many hospital records show many cases of child abuse or mistreatment inflicted upon the children by their parents. Yet relatively few get any attention from the mass media. More generally the media stress virtues such as duty to one's country, obedience, and affection (Albrecht, 1956:724). Patriotism or national ethnocentrism is also deeply rooted and protected by the media. Whenever an individual is accused of disloyalty, unfavorable discussion is carried by the media. "He cannot be dramatized as an individual or a leader, only as a 'controversial'...person under suspicion" (Breed, 1958:192). Yet recent news coverage has given considerable attention to activities that may be considered by some to be disloyal and unpatriotic. For example, considerable attention was focused on Daniel Ellsberg and his release of the "Pentagon Papers", the trial of the avowed communist Angela Davis, the "Peace Advocates", etc. Of course, this coverage appears to be only a minute part of the total national news coverage. However, it is rather interesting to speculate what kind of coverage these same people would have gotten in the early 1960's when the United States was first getting involved in the Indo-China conflict. What the media present as well as what they omit can be seen as functional to the maintenance of the social system, assisting in the socio-cultural integration function.

The socio-cultural integration function is not limited to any particular medium. Comics and magazines are similar to the electronic media in their presentations of social and cultural materials. Briefly, the comics present stories that are meaningful to the majority of Americans. In many cases the reader "role takes" and identifies with the characters in the

strip (Bogart, 1957:192). Johns-Heine notes that successful career girls presented in the Saturday Evening Post are shown to suffer for having careers, having an overburden of personal and professional tasks. They appear to be less secure as a mother and housewife. "The hero, because of this identification (reader with hero in vicissitudes as well as rewards) becomes an important vehicle of social values - the carrier of specific American values and traditions" (Johns-Heine, 1957:226).

Hatch and Hatch (1958) investigated magazine stories published in 1956 and 1957 for stories dealing with working wives and mothers and the problems as well as solutions suggested by the writers. Most of the magazine stories presented favorable impressions about women working (at least part-time). They neglected all the problems that a working wife and mother may have such as conflict with her family, lack of job security and seniority, the energy needed to work in two locations, etc. The omission of such problems is consonant with socio-cultural integration because more women are entering the labor force. Nevertheless, this omission may be dysfunctional for some of the working women involved.

Socio-cultural integration is facilitated by stereotyping of certain minority groups as well as by the re-enforcement of certain social prejudices. Social prejudice as well as stereotyping is done in subtle and harmless ways, providing the reader or viewer these stereotypes in a rather unobtrusive fashion. Berelson (1957) indicated that the magazine readers were constantly and indirectly exposed to these prejudices and that these prejudices were never confronted as such. An investigation of the magazine presentations of majority and minority Americans showed that the minority characters were under-represented in light of their proportion of the

population and that they were often depicted as disapproved characters. The approved characters (being of the majority) were presented as likeable, personable, wise, desirable, upright, honest, etc. (Berelson, 1957). No attempt was made to correct the various impressions left by these magazine articles and stories. Therefore, it is possible for the readers who need to utilize stereotyping and social prejudices in their daily activities to find support and justification in magazine fiction.

In comparison to what has been done with written material, television content analyses are scarce. However, some have been done and will be reported below. Others will be included in a later unit on "effects". "Television as a medium seems to be highly responsive to the conservative, conventional values," according to Sydney Head (1954:178). He goes on to note that "...drama deals with social values and attitudes, much of the time on an unconscious level" (192). It would appear that television along with the other media likewise presents material that supports the major value systems.

The findings of several television studies illustrate how television functions to maintain society's expectations by broadcasting materials consonant with those orientations. The first study analyzing 86 drama programs broadcast in New York City was done by Smythe. A list of his findings include:

1. Most settings in the United States
2. Very young (under 20) and very old (over 60) underrepresented
3. Characters at the height of courting and child-bearing age.
4. Higher white collar positions such as managers and professionals overrepresented at the expense of the routine white and blue collar jobs.

5. Most of the characters were law abiding, healthy and sane
6. Most likely to be white Americans, occasionally European and rarely Negro. Absent altogether were Asian Indians, Africans, and Asians
7. Male heroes outnumbered heroines 2 to 1
8. Heroes are usually younger than villains
9. In TV life, disregard for the norms is usually not heroic but undesirable.
10. White Americans have the edge over foreigners providing some 83% of the heroes as opposed to 69% of the villains. Heroic foreigners tended to be females (In Wright, 1959:81).

Another aspect of the same study illustrates the function of socio-cultural integration in which was applied a semantic differential instrument to the central characters with the following findings:

1. The heroes were evaluated as having personalities very much in conformity to cultural ideals - very brave, honest, clean, kind, fair, loyal, admirable, happy.
2. Villains were portrayed in an opposite fashion: ugly, deceitful, cruel, unfair, disloyal, dirty, despicable.
3. Although the villains were not portrayed as being cowards, the heroes had more bravery and were sharper, smarter, and quicker.
4. The various occupational groups fare well as long as they were legitimate.
5. Some of the interesting differences between the various occupations include:
 - a. scientists were rated as the least brave, slowest, dullest
 - b. teachers, though clean, kind, and fair, were also the slowest, softest
 - c. lawyers were the dirtiest
 - d. doctors and entertainers had favorable personalities

- e. criminals and illegal business operators had unfavorable personality characteristics
- f. the housewives were basically similar to those of heroine (In Wright, 1959:82).

DeFleur (1964) investigated the occupational roles presented by television. His analysis of the data for the state of Indiana displayed:

1. that most occupational roles were of the higher socio-economic levels
2. that those roles portrayed were related to higher degrees of social power
3. that these characters were all handsome, well dressed, socially skilled, and intelligent
4. that certain occupations such as nurses and taxi drivers were respectively portrayed as cold and impersonal, burly and aggressive
5. that lower occupation workers were portrayed as slovenly, boorish, and ugly (62-71).

It is also interesting to note that DeFleur found that while almost fifty percent of the males in the labor force in that state were actually in the commerce or industry sectors, less than ten percent were in the same sectors on television (1964:65). To what degree, then, does television content reflect reality is an important question.

Were there no isomorphy between television content and the real world of the viewer, television would have less appeal than it obviously does. Because this content has meaning for or can be identified with by the viewer, television's function as a socio-cultural integration agent is enhanced. Television serials involve some 48 million people each day, many of whom get very wrapped up in them. Two examples: when grandpa Hughes of CBS's "As the World Turns" celebrated his 70th birthday in the script, Santos Ortega, who has played the role for fifteen years, received

some 200,000 birthday cards. Another example of viewer involvement was when Dr. Matt Powers of "The Doctors" was being tempted by a beautiful and seductive woman, thousands of viewers wrote to warn Dr. Maggie Powers, his wife, about what was going on (Loercher, 1972).

The content of some serials has obvious functions for the viewers. One broadcast of the CBS serial "Guiding Light" had a medical function (enlightening the viewers on the necessity of an annual medical examination) by presenting content on uterine cancer. This presentation prompted several thousand letters from viewers who wrote to indicate that they got Pap smears because of the show. On the ABC serial "One Life to Live" ex-drug addicts in actual group sessions appeared on several episodes. NBC negotiated with Billy Graham about a possible return appearance on "Return to Peyton Place" to preach against drug use (Pierce, 1973:39). It would appear that the viewers do get information as well as entertainment from these serials. In addition, apparently the producers feel that they have a strong medium of influence in the serial stories if they are going to the trouble and expense trying to recruit such a person as Billy Graham.

If one assumes that television serials are an extension of previous radio serials, Herzog's (1954) findings are relevant to the socio-cultural integration provided by the medium of television. In her survey of 2500 listeners, 41% claimed that they had been helped by listening to the programs; 28% claimed no help, with the remainder uncertain. In a follow-up study of 150 of these people, she asked for specific examples of assistance given by the programs. In several cases, the interviewees reported help with their husbands, children, and other personal problems.

Robinson (1971), in his review of several research projects on the

effects of television writes:

Majorities of viewers claimed their favorite dramatic programs to be both realistic and instructive. Programs receiving particularly high mention in this regard were soap operas and the medical programs like *Marcus Welby, M.D.* and *Medical Center*. Respondents say they derive lessons and solutions to real life problems from soap operas and acquire medical knowledge from 'doctor' programs. (588)

Viewers may not only learn obviously useful material, they may also learn from violent content; violence, too, has a function. Gerbner (1971) indicates that symbolic violence has the function of showing how to avoid or utilize violence in everyday activities. Likewise Larsen et al. (1963) demonstrated that the use of violence may be a socially approved mechanism for achieving certain desired ends. Even violence which violates several American mores and values may contribute to socio-cultural integration. Such presentations function to maintain the social system by showing what can happen to those who deviate too much. However, should one find socially approved means to socially accepted goals blocked, these same presentations may show deviant ways of attaining the same goals. Generally, such ways are not broadcast as previously noted (Breed, 1964, Williams, 1951).

In summary, television as a subsystem functions to maintain the external social system. This it does by emitting or omitting content that facilitates socio-cultural integration. The functional approach is heuristic for generating but not testing hypotheses. Therefore, an additional theory is needed to provide a framework by which one can generate testable hypotheses. This is done by the cultural norms theory. Figure 3 provides an overview of the various functions of television and their interrelatedness with the cultural norms theory.

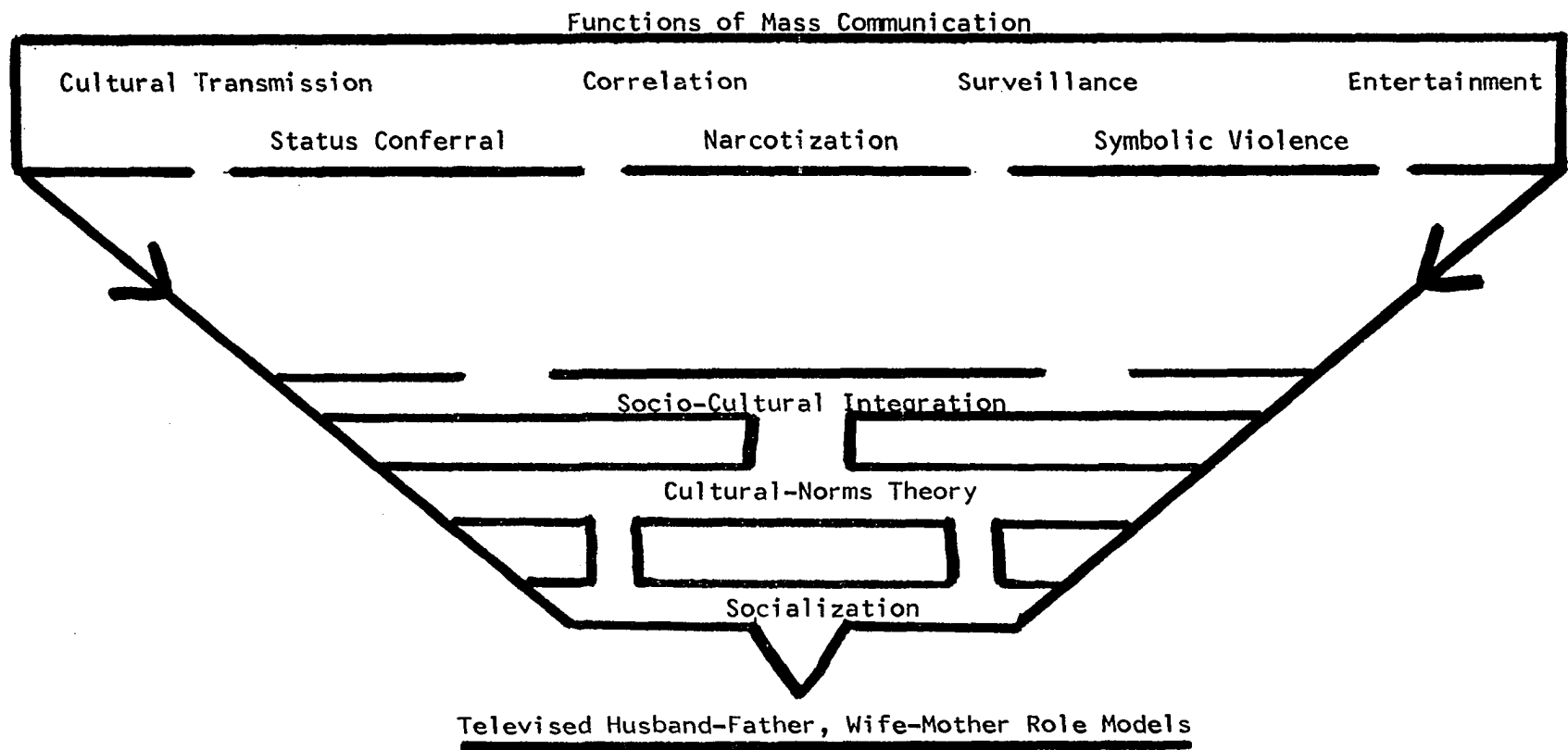


Figure 3
Overview of the theoretical framework (Functions from Wright, 1964)

The Cultural Norms Theory

The cultural norms theory assumes that mass media content may influence individual behavior. In essence, the cultural norms theory

postulates that the mass media, through selective presentations and the emphasis of certain themes, creates impressions among their audiences that common cultural norms concerning the emphasized topics are structured or defined in some specific way. Since individual behavior is usually guided by cultural norms (or the actor's impression of what the norms are) with respect to a given topic or situation, the media would then serve indirectly to influence conduct (DeFleur, 1970:129).

In social psychological terms, the media could provide a "definition of the situation" which the actor may believe to be real.

Theoretically, there are three ways in which the media can influence norms and the definitions of the situation for individuals. First, the content can reinforce existing patterns and lead people to believe that given social forms are being maintained by the society. Secondly, the media can create new shared convictions about topics with little saliency or knowledge on the part of the populace. Finally, the media can change existing norms, thereby converting people from one form of behavior to another (DeFleur, 1970).

Concerning the first relationship, Lazarsfeld and Merton (1957) maintain that the media operate conservatively and follow public norms in matters of taste, etc. Thus, they indicate that the media reinforce the status quo rather than create new norms that may lead to change in tradition. This would be supported by the material presented earlier (pages 26-32) on the content of the media. However, it should be noted that the media do try to get people to change trivial things such as clothes, cars, dance styles, etc., though none of them have as yet actively come out in

favor of controversial behavior such as mate swapping or "swinging". However, only recently the media have presented various opinions on the liberalized abortion issue.

The media may create new patterns of behavior which do not contravene acceptable patterns of behavior. In the 1950's every boy had to have a "Davy Crockett" coonskin cap. The "hula hoop", the "mouseketeers", the screams of Tarzan echoing throughout suburbia, are additional examples of the creation of new patterns of behavior. The millions spent each year on advertising are geared to the creation of a desire for something new - a better smell, a new car, etc. Perhaps the ability of the media to create new patterns of behavior is epitomized by the now accepted cultural value that people should smell good; everyone must utilize some deodorant, men included.

The issue of whether or not the media can change existing patterns of behavior remains a rather thorny one, for research is not conclusive. Current media campaigns against smoking such as those by the American Cancer Society are intended to convert people from smoking to nonsmoking. There is some evidence to indicate that the nonsmoking campaigns have been successful. From the National Center for Health Statistics, the World Almanac (1973) reports that "from 1965 to 1970 the number of cigarette smokers in the adult population (17 years or older) declined from 41.6% to 36.7%" (955). The drop was more dramatic among men - from 51.0% to 43.2% in 1970. For women, the decline was from 33.2% to 30.9% (955). However, the proportion of heavy smokers went up. For smokers of all ages, both male and female, the proportion of 2 packs-a-day smokers went up "...about 2%, to include 14.7% men and 8.0% of women smokers" (955). It would appear that

although cigarette commercials have been banned from television, and all cigarette packs have the Surgeon General's warning on them, usage remains high.

Why may the media fail to alter certain behavior patterns? One explanation provided by Schramm is that the user of any mass medium is not an isolated being but that he is a group member, a group that may be reinforcing behavior patterns that are in contradiction to those presented by mass media. As Riley and Riley indicated, "...it seems that the recipient of a mass communication message is rarely reached directly in his role as an anonymous and isolated member of a bureaucracy or mass society. Rather the message is mediated through or is important because of the groups to which he belongs" (1959:558). A summary of DeFleur's (1970) commentary indicates that mass media:

1. can re-inforce cultural norms
2. can activate a considerable amount of behavior providing it is consistent with the needs of the individual. (The classic example is the Kate Smith marathon radio broadcasts which sold 15 million dollars worth of war bonds in a single day.)
3. can create new norms in areas of behavior which are not currently controlled by strong socio-cultural constraints

Because of the cultural norms theory's basic assumption that at least some behavior changes may be produced by mass communications, it is this theory which is at the heart of the debate over the violent content of some media. Therefore, it is necessary to digress and review some of the material on media violence, especially that of television.

Joseph Klapper is quick to point out that media effects may not be as definitive as some writers present. He notes that several areas of concern exist concerning media effects.

1. The concern that the consequences are undesirable.
2. That such material elicits direct, initiative behavior - people do things because they saw them on television.
3. That media depictions of crime and violence constitute a school for delinquency.
4. That crime in the media will have a kind of trigger effect which will become operative among persons in situations of reduced normal resistance.
5. That the creation of an undesirable general value orientation that crime is normal.
6. That beneficial social effects such as vicarious identification with media might serve as an outlet for aggression (1960:140).

Furthermore, Klapper notes (1) that the statistics on the display of violence on television are ambiguous and lack conciseness; (2) the definition of violence is so broad that one must question its validity; (3) the violence is fictional; and (4) little is known about the relationship of the incidence of violence in media programs and effects (1960:138).

The largest as well as most recent compilation of papers and relevant data concerning the effects of televised violence on the viewer is the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare's Television and Social Behavior (1971). The major emphasis of the report deals with the effects of violent content and the attitudes and behaviors of children.

Before one can deal with the media's effects on violence, one must investigate the nature of the content. A major contribution was made by G. Gerbner (1971) in which an analysis of dramatic programs, plays and cartoons is reported for 1967 through 1969. Gerbner's assumption behind his investigation of this entertainment content is "...that the almost ritualistically regular and repetitive symbolic structure of television

drama cultivates certain premises about the rules of the game of life. Violence plays an important role in that game" (1971:30). Comstock and Rubenstein note: "If it is posited that television is a source of information about real life, despite the fictional or fantasy guise of entertainment, the lesson is that life is violent, that violence often succeeds, that moral goodness and violent behavior may coincide, and that victimization is a common occurrence" (1971:2).

Gerbner's definition of violence was "...the overt expression of physical force against others or self, or the compelling of action against one's will on pain of being hurt or killed" (1971:31). Furthermore, the agent of violence could be any type of creature, and the act accidental or intentional. Succinctly Gerbner's findings for 1967 through 1969 were:

1. The prevalence of violence did not change markedly from 1967 through 1969. In each of the three years, about 8 out of 10 plays contained violence, and violent episodes occurred at the rate of five per play and eight per hour.
2. The frequency of verbal violence declined markedly and the pervasiveness of character's participation in violence declined somewhat.
3. Violence increased in programing most specifically aimed at young children - cartoons. Any decline in violence is attributable to television plays, which presumably are aimed at adults.
4. Cartoons were responsible for less than one-third of all violent episodes in 1967, but accounted for more than half in 1969 (Comstock and Rubenstein, 1971:4-12).

As for the quality of the violence, (where and when it occurs, who participates, and in what ways different kinds of people are involved) over the three-year period (a weekly sample from each season's schedule) 1,355 violent episodes involving 762 leading characters were recorded (Gerbner, 1971:32). Law enforcement representatives were portrayed as

increasingly violent: 60%, 72%, and 77% of them in 1967, 1968, 1969 respectively. Weapons (other than body means) were used in about half of all violent episodes. In cartoons, the use of weapons was up from 52% to 83%. However, the number of fatalities decreased; the "body count" dropped from 82 in 1967 to 46 in 1969. In 1967 and 1968, there was an injury in nearly every violent episode. This dropped from 1 in 3 in 1967 and 1968 to 1 in 10 in 1969 (Gerbner, 1971:46).

Most of the televised violence occurred between strangers (unlike real life) and tended to be related to personal gain, power, or duty, rather than to social issues. Also there was a lack of violence portrayed in the family setting. Most of the violence was inflicted by non-whites, foreigners, and persons of lower socio-economic status (Gerbner, 1971:48).

Gerbner (1971:42), in discussing the symbolic functions of violence, notes that these "...may be easiest to perform in settings relatively remote, unfamiliar, exotic, farcical, and unaffected by the need or opportunity for reality testing on other factors in the viewers every day experiences." Gerbner postulates that "symbolic violence is one of society's chief instruments for achieving the aims of real violence without having to commit any. Symbolic hurt to symbolic people and causes can show real people how they might use - or avoid - force to stay alive and to advance their causes" (1971:44).

Larsen et al. (1963) also noted from their analysis of television programs that violence was a major mechanism to goal achievement. When the goals (property, self-preservation, affection, sentiment, power, prestige, psychological, other) were combined with methods (legal, non-legal, economic, violence, organizational, escape, chance, other) into the cate-

gories of socially approved, socially disapproved, or either, the primary mechanism that provided the greatest likelihood of goal achievement is in the disapproved or either category (193).

Goldsen (1971) indicates in her article on television violence that violence is stylized. It presents only young men against older men. Even if the violence is done by one playing the "father" role, this is usually displayed in a fashion extraneous to that role. In addition, violence is usually congruent with one's occupation such as policeman, detective, spy, etc.

Whereas the above material dealt with the violent content of television dramas, movies, and cartoons, additional information concerning possible effects of such content is also reported in Television and Social Behavior (1971). Liebert notes that observational learning or "...the way in which the behavior of children (and adults) changes as a function of exposure to the behavior of others..." is of primary concern to investigators because research on films has indicated that children do learn unfamiliar behaviors (1971:2).

The question of learning is not easily answered. Whether or not one learns and subsequently acts on what he has learned is a multi-staged process. The observer (1) must be exposed to certain cues or stimuli, (2) must acquire and be able to reproduce what he heard or saw, and (3) may accept or reject these cues as a model for his own actions. Step three may involve direct imitation or disinhibition. On the other hand, the effects of modeling may produce counter-imitative effects. Counter-imitative effects would be those which would decrease the individual's likelihood of adopting specific behavior patterns. This could occur because the

individual's sense of guilt or shame was increased after having viewed certain stimuli. In addition, exposure and acquisition may occur without the observer accepting or adopting what he has seen or heard. Figure 4, page 42, displays this multi-staged process.

The question of observational learning is in essence the heart of Klapper's concern about media effects noted previously. However, it must again be noted that the HEW material deals only with the effects of violence. Nevertheless, it can serve as a launching pad for both theoretical as well as empirical investigations into other relevant areas.

Since "...it has been shown convincingly that children are exposed to a substantial amount of violent content on television, and that they can remember and learn from such exposure" (Liebert, 1971:29), many attempts have been made to test the matter of effects. The first question deals with learning or the acquisition of behavior patterns. Acquisition is the ability to reproduce previously unfamiliar acts as a function of observational learning. Another concept - acceptance - is also very important in discussing the matter of effects. As distinguished from acquisition, acceptance is the adoption of some behavior patterns learned from observation that may be utilized by the observer at some future time. (Liebert (1971: 3,4) notes:

If a child has learned some new behavior, then he clearly possesses the potential to produce it if (or when) he finds himself in a situation in which such a performance appears to be desirable, useful, or likely to serve his own purposes. Thus, although learning does not necessarily lead to action, it does make possible the performance of otherwise unavailable forms of social responses.

Acquisition, then, is at the cognitive level while acceptance is at the behavioral level.

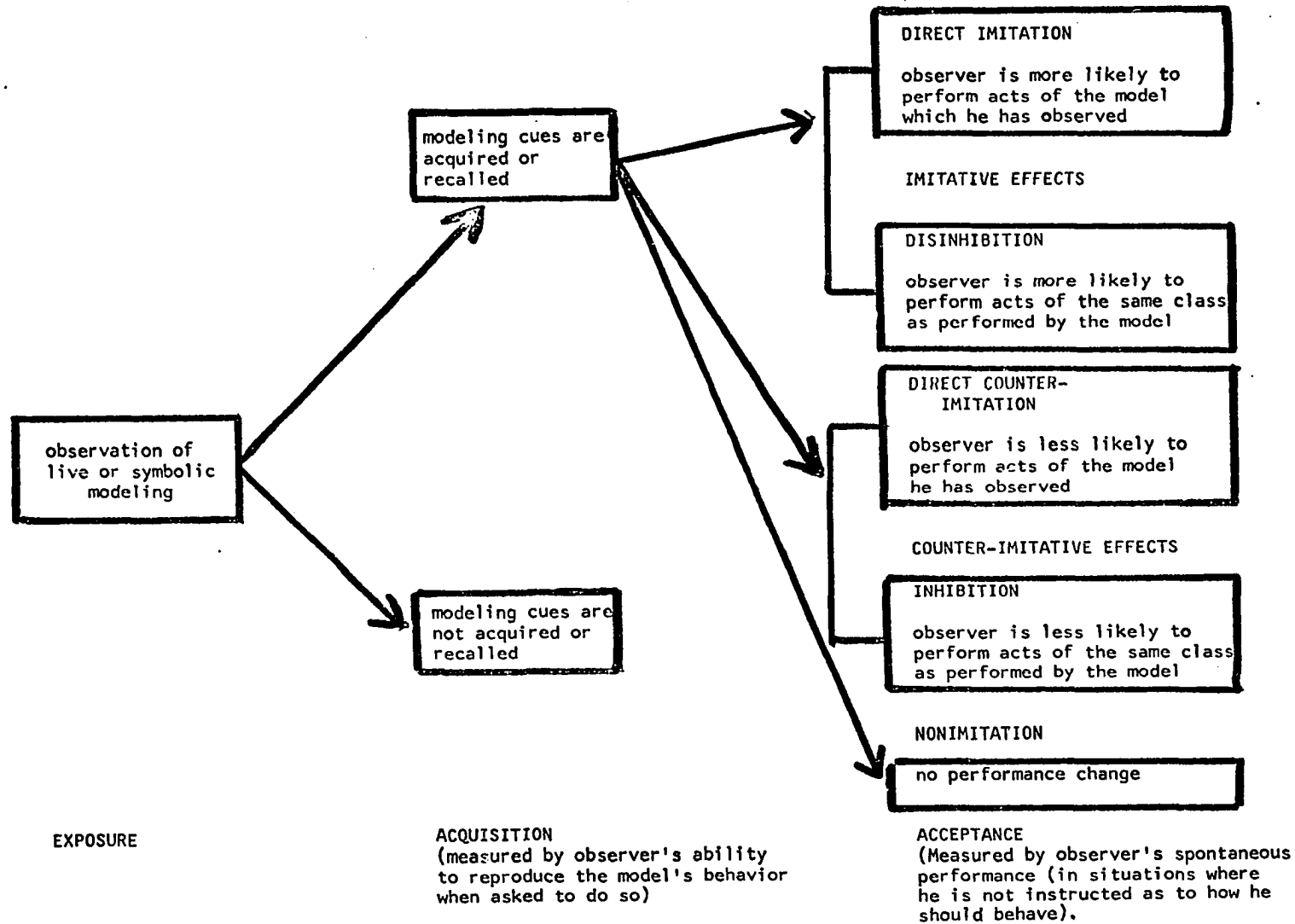


Figure 4

The stages of observational learning (Liebert, 1971:5)

Commencing with the acquisition of material, the results from the study of Sesame Street serve as an example. "We now know that television programs can be designed both to be attractive to preschool children and to lead to positive effects on their cognitive development" (Stevenson, 1971:366). Most of the research has been directed at the negative effects, such as the investigation of the acquisition and adoption of aggressive behavior. Stevenson argues that more ought to be done to investigate the benefits that may be obtained from television production.

Studies of novel aggressive behavior have indicated that quite young children can acquire these patterns. Work by Bandura, Hicks and others have demonstrated that children can learn novel aggressive behavior patterns toward inanimate rather than human objects (Liebert, 1971). Recalling particular physical acts does not necessarily mean that the viewer will recall or even understand the more subtle plot theme. Liefer and Roberts (1971) note on this matter that kindergarteners could answer only one-third of the questions about either motives or consequences, third graders only about half, and twelfth graders about 95%. "The data reviewed ...suggest that children are likely to acquire, with the level of repeated exposure that takes place, a good deal of the aggressive repertoire that they see in televised violence...but the question of whether they accept this material as a guide for their own actions remains..." (Liebert, 1971: 12). Yet Liefer and Roberts (1971:124) contend:

There is rather clear evidence that exposure to current television programs that include aggressive acts produces greater subsequent aggression than one would find without such exposure. This effect increases as children mature to early adolescence and then decreases through adolescence. None of these results are, of course, in themselves the final proof-positive of anything.

Apparently children as well as adults can acquire material from television exposure. However, acquisition does not automatically mean acceptance. There would appear to be instances of direct imitative behavior such as the youth who was stabbed while he and his friends re-enacted scenes from the movie "Rebel Without a Cause" which was presented on television (Liebert, 1971:13), or the youth who attempts to fly such as does Superman. General (and less dramatic) instances of imitative behavior after television viewing have been demonstrated in an experimental laboratory setting. Bandura (1965) had children watch a series of aggressive acts directed at a plastic doll clown. Those children who had been shown the aggressor as being rewarded or receiving no negative consequences at all, showed a high level of direct imitation. Those that had been shown the aggressor as being punished showed counter imitation or fewer aggressive responses toward the clown.

Lyle and Hoffman (1971) asked first graders whether they had ever copied behavior they had seen on television. Sixty percent indicated that they had. Much of this imitated behavior was done in play activities. It is interesting to note that "in life situations, the most powerful effects of aggressive modeling may often occur under circumstances where they cannot be observed by parents or other adults" (Liebert, 1971:14).

A variety of correlational studies have indicated a relationship between objective ratings of television programs reportedly viewed by youngsters and deviant behavior patterns as measured by several indices (MacIntyre and Teevan, 1971). These investigators found a positive relationship between the violence ratings of viewers' favorite programs and the expressed approval of violence. Dominick and Greenberg (1971) in their

questionnaire study of 434 fourth through sixth grade boys enrolled in Michigan public schools in 1970, indicated that exposure to television violence was related to the boys' approval of the willingness to use violence, as measured by the Sears Anti-social Aggression Scale. Exposure was also positively related to the boys' perceptions of its effectiveness when used. In a replicate study of girls, similar relationships were discovered.

In another correlational study conducted by McLeod, Atkins, and Chaffee (1971), the relationship between viewing of televised violence and a variety of aggressive behaviors in two large samples of adolescents (one from Maryland and the other from Wisconsin) was also positive. In their own words:

Our research shows that among both boys and girls at two grade levels (junior high and senior high) the more the child watches violent television fare, the more aggressive he is likely to be as measured by a variety of self-report measures....Partialing out (total) viewing time slightly reduces the positive correlations of violence viewing and aggressive behavior in most cases, but the basic result is the same as for the raw correlations....Similarly, the partialing out of socio-economic status and school performance does not alter the basic pattern of raw correlations....We may conclude, then, that adolescents viewing high levels of violent content on television tend to have high levels of aggressive behavior, regardless of television viewing time, socio-economic status, or school performance. These partials appear to rule out as alternative explanations simple television exposure, social status and general competence as a student (1971:239-274).

A longitudinal study by Lefkowitz, Eron, Walder and Huesman (1971), of 900 youngsters in a rural New York County, related children's aggressive behavior (as peer rated) to various familial, social and experimental factors. The results of the ten year follow-up study showed that for boys the amount of aggression watched in the third grade was significantly related to peer ratings of aggression at age 19.

Leifer and Roberts (1971) investigated the willingness of children and adolescents (kindergarten through 12th grade) to aggress after having watched unedited television programs with varying degrees of violence. They were presented with real life situations ("You are standing in line for a drink of water. A kid comes along and pushes you out of line. What do you do?") and asked to choose among a pair of alternatives - "Push them" or "Go away". They found that the more violent the programs, the higher the aggressive responses.

What if the material is thought to be real and not fiction? Feshbach (1971) hypothesized that if the content is perceived as real, there is a greater possibility of aggression via imitation, instruction, and disinhibition. In one experiment using 9-11 year old boys, three experimental conditions were utilized: real aggression, fantasy aggression, and a control. Those that were to be exposed to an aggressive presentation saw a war movie and a police action sequence. The control saw a circus performance. In one experiment, the groups exposed to the aggression films were told it was a Hollywood production. There was no difference between those who viewed the Hollywood production (fantasy aggression) and the control group as measured by the "aggressive machine". (An instrument by which a subject could "shock" a non-cooperating partner.) In a subsequent experiment, the same action films were used, but the subjects were told it was real. Results on an adjective check list, administered pre- and post-exposure to the films, indicated that those subjects exposed to the "reality" film were more aggressive than the control group.

Another study was conducted in a summer nursery school by Stein and Friedrich (1971). Three groups were systematically exposed to television

programs of different content for 20 minutes per day. The content was (1) aggressive cartoons (Batman, Superman), (2) neutral, such as farming shows, and (3) prosocial content (Mister Roger's Neighborhood). "The clearest main effects of the television programs appeared on the self-controlling behaviors. Children exposed to the prosocial television programs showed higher levels of rule obedience, tolerance of delay, and persistence than children exposed to the aggressive programs. Those in the neutral condition generally fell between the two television groups" (273).

Still another argument is that the content of mass communication that appears harmful to the observer might be beneficial in that it deters negative behavior by providing a mechanism by which aggressions can be worked off vicariously. Such material may, however, affect people differently. The average adolescent may not be harmed by the violent scenes, but an emotionally unstable child may be stimulated by them or find them reinforcing to his present behavior patterns (Maccoby, 1954). The question then becomes one of separating the average from the emotionally unstable adolescent and the strict review of mass media content. This would not seem to be feasible.

The previous discussion highlights some of the research that has been done on the question of "effects" of television exposure. A simple conclusion is that a viewer can acquire material but may not accept it as a model for his own behavior. These various studies lend support to the basic postulate of the cultural norms theory that media can influence behavior.

Keeping in mind the interrelatedness of the cultural norms theory and the functions of mass communication, some users find solutions to personal

problems in media presentations. Herzog (1954) indicates from her 1944 study of 2500 Iowa radio listeners, "...41% claimed to have been helped ...to deal better with the problems...(of) everyday life..." (25). Often the advice was to remain calm and things will turn out all right in the end. Klapper (1960) calls such problem solving presentations a "school of life" function; to the degree that such presentations influence behavior, the learning of solutions typifies the postulate of the cultural norms theory. In other words, such presentations provide a normative pattern for problem solving.

Some of the adults in LoSciuto's study (1971) felt they learned about the world, how to handle social situations, and how to cope with some personal problems. Many also felt that television dramas reflected life realistically. LoSciuto (1971) cites findings that some parents used examples shown on television programs as models or support in interaction with children. In addition, he notes that in terms of patterns of television use,

Dramatic shows (other than adventure and family situation comedies) are characterized by high levels of audience attention. (These are shows such as Marcus Welby, Medical Center, Bracken's World, and soap operas)....More respondents said they planned to watch these dramatic shows and that they chose to watch them....More people said they watched these shows all the way through than was true for any other program type. Further, few reported talking while the show was on or carrying on potentially distracting activities. At the end of the program, most respondents in the dramatic show audience had good things to say about it. Compared with other shows, more respondents reported the program to have been really worth watching (1971:58).

LoSciuto continues:

Over 60 percent (of 252 families) listed entertainment and relaxation as the major reason for viewing. Another 18 percent said to 'kill time'. A minority (8 percent) said 'to keep up with what was going on' and four percent saying that they were participating

in a learning or self-improvement experience. Such reasons became even more prominent in second and third reasons for viewing. It would appear, therefore, that a substantial minority of viewers feel that their television viewing is not entirely a frivolous or escapist use of time (1971:59).

When LoSciuto's respondents were asked what they liked about their two favorite fictional programs, they answered generally the good stories or plots and personal effects such as "It makes me laugh" (1971:64). Additional reasons "...commonly given for liking a program involved respondents' perceptions that the program was realistic or portrayed things that could happen and were happening in real life" (1971:63).

In pursuing the question of learning from television viewing, LoSciuto reports:

For 56 percent of the dramatic programs mentioned, respondents said they did learn something from the programs; from 44 percent respondents said they learned nothing. Surprisingly, the things most often reported as learned are how to solve problems - one's own problems in the case of soap operas or crime problems in the case of detective shows - and how people behave or react in various situations (1971:72).

Regarding the amount of realism the respondents perceived in the programs,

Twice as many respondents (60 percent) said their favorite programs showed 'life as it really is' than did not (30 percent); the remaining 10 percent claimed it was only partially realistic. When asked to explain their answer about programs being realistic, the majority pointed out that things like this happen in real life....If many of these shows are drama or situation comedies, the fiction is evidently capable of yielding perceived insight into everyday real world transactions (LoSciuto, 1971:72).

LoSciuto notes in his concluding remarks that, although the programs may be fictional, there appears "...a fascinating interface of fantasy and real world concerns...and a fruitful area of future research...(into) the perceived carryover of learning from programs to situations in the respondent's life. In any event, many viewers evidently take the fiction-

alized content of dramatic programs more seriously and literally than most social thinkers and behavioral scientists have recognized" (1971:81,82).

Katzman (1972:212) on the potential impact of television serials

notes:

The almost-realism of the characters and themes, the repetition due to slow pace, and the extremely large number of hours spent viewing soap operas indicate that these shows have great potential power. They can establish or reinforce value systems. They can legitimize behavior and remove taboos about discussing sensitive topics such as drugs and premarital sex.

Much of the preceding material leaves one with the impression that media content (especially violence) does most definitely have an effect on viewers. One might quickly, for example, assert that there is a causal relationship between exposure to televised violence and subsequent aggressive behavior patterns. Caution must be exercised at this point for two reasons. The first reason is that the finding of a positive relationship between exposure to violence and subsequent aggressive behavior patterns was discovered by the use of three main research designs: the laboratory experiment, the field study, and the correlational study.

The laboratory experiment typically uses control and experimental groups; to the latter exclusively are the stimuli applied. By varying the degree or amount of the stimuli (the independent variable), one can investigate the effects on the dependent variable. In comparison, one could compare these findings with a control group not exposed to the violent content. Further criticisms include: laboratory experiments usually take place in an artificial and purposely designed setting, the

exposure is for a brief period of time, it may not appear to be real, and it is difficult to generalize findings from a laboratory setting to the outside world.

The field study lacks the conciseness and variable control provided by the laboratory setting. However, the field study permits more realism in that it is conducted in the real world as opposed to a laboratory. Field study methods employ more measures which almost all investigators consider relevant to aggression (Liebert, 1973:70). Generalizability of findings to larger groups of people may be gained at the expense of tight operational definitions.

A third approach to the issue of determining effects is the correlational study. Often this approach accompanies the field study. The correlational method is used to determine if two (or more) variables are related; i.e. they vary together--is violence related to television exposure, for example. Even after finding a positive correlation (an increase or decrease in one variable is accompanied by the same trend in the other), this does not permit a generalization that one causes the other.

Furthermore, these studies view the individual in an isolated and anonymous setting. As Schramm notes, the viewer is not a "...separated individual receiving mass communication (in this case televised violence) like a hypodermic needle under their individual skins and reacting individually to it" (1957:54). Although the writer is quite certain that many, if not all of the previously-mentioned investigators would agree with Schramm, much of their writing fails to account for the social context in which the viewer is situated. It is often not explicit that each

viewer regardless of age has a social history which will determine, in part, his acquisition and/or adoption of aggressive behavior patterns. Man also learns from interacting in this group settings. What he has learned serves as criteria of evaluation of what he will acquire and/or adopt in terms of cognitive and/or behavioral patterns.

One piece of information that does seem to emerge unscathed from the various investigations cited (criticisms, reservations, and deficiencies noted) is that the viewer, be he child or adult, may acquire certain patterns of behavior. Whether or not he will adopt or accept these as standards for his own behavior is still inconclusive. Is it not possible that the viewer may acquire and adopt media content that may be beneficial? Most of the research has been done to investigate the possible negative effects of mass communications. Positive effects are also possible. Stevenson (1971) indicates that it is possible for children to learn or increase academic skills such as spelling, reading, and math from such programs as Sesame Street. Is not the whole instructional media program including educational television based on the premise that the viewer can learn as well and perhaps better than by the more conventional means? As noted by Stein and Friedrich in discussing the impact of television viewing on their nursery school children:

...the equally important implications which can be drawn from the data are those that support the belief that television can play an important role in the positive social development of children (1971:276).

These writers were specifically discussing a children's program "Mister Roger's Neighborhood". However, their conclusions could be generalized to indicate that positive effects as well as negative are possible from

television viewing.

The Socialization Process for Marital and Familial Roles

Men and women behave differently from each other in American society. The average child of three is already able to tell some of the differences. However, men and women do not just happen to behave differently from one another. There are differences that are systematic and prescribed. In sociological terminology these differences for each sex are called "sex roles".

The central concept "role" concerns those "...prescriptions for interpersonal behavior which are associated with particular socially recognized categories of persons. Such categories are referred to as statuses or positions" (Heiss, 1968:3). Role theory operates from two basic assumptions. It assumes that role prescriptions are learned, and, secondly, that when people interact with others, they see themselves and these others as occupants of particular statuses. They are given guides for action by what they learn or know are the expectations associated with these statuses.

The learning of roles or socialization

refers to the process whereby individuals acquire the personal system properties - the knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, needs, and motivations...which shape their adaptation to the physical and socio-cultural setting in which they live. The critical test of the success of the socialization process lies in the ability of the individual to perform well in the statuses - that is to play the roles - in which he may later find himself. The subtlety and complexity of the problem of socialization stems...from the diversity of these statuses and from the uncertainty as to the roles which may be associated with them (Inkeles, 1969:616).

Some statuses that a person will occupy are definite and ascribed. Sta-

tuses associated with sex, age, and skin color are prescribed. One behaves accordingly depending on whether he is a male or female, black or white, young or old. With ascribed statuses, there is little variation in the accompanying role behaviors. Learning the behavior (or role) associated with a particular status is much less complicated with ascribed statuses than achieved statuses. Achieved statuses are those social positions that one acquires through his own initiative. These would include such statuses as doctor, mason, professor, plumber, husband, wife, etc.

Not only are there prescriptions of how the occupant of a status should perform, but there are also actual role behaviors-the behavior displayed by the incumbent. It is possible that the displayed role behavior is incongruent with the role prescriptions. For example, the aforementioned mother (p. 25) whose behavior at the bedside of her baby was not what was expected of an incumbent of the status-role of mother; she was displaying behaviors that were incongruent with the prescriptions.

A limited insight into the variations of men's work and women's work in different societies shows most activities are assigned primarily to one sex or the other. However, "there is almost no activity which has not been assigned by some society to women" (Udry, 1971:26).

Some sociologists have argued that sex-role differences are not biologically determined. Starting from observations of small decision-making groups, they noticed that in many of these groups there seemed to be one person who led the group "to get things done" while another member attended to the more personal aspects of interaction such as making others "feel good". The person who "got things done" became known in the literature as the instrumental leader performing the function of facilitating goal

achievement for the group. The other member - the expressive leader - performed the tension-management function. Talcott Parsons and Robert Bales indicate that the husband's occupation is very important in tying the family to society. "...in our society we can unequivocally designate the husband-father as the instrumental leader..." of the family (1955, 47). The wife is the expressive leader.

Not all writers agree with Parsons. According to Margaret Mead, there are different modes of behavior which flow from essential biological differences in males and females. Women are by nature receptive: "Inception is a form of behavior that fits the essential biological rhythm of her being" (1949:144). Because women experience motherhood, they are more intuitive and receptive. Males are more intrusive by nature and have universal needs for achievement. The problem of society is not to eradicate these biologically produced tendencies, but to expand on them. Sex roles, therefore, are socially determined but biologically outlined. The socialization process should be aimed at capitalizing upon these basic differences rather than ignoring or changing them.

Sociology, as a discipline, assumes that social interaction is as important, if not more important, than biological determinism. It assumes that given a human organism, it can be socialized in a variety of different ways according to its given social and cultural milieu. It is for this reason that sex role differentiation is more often explained from a socio-cultural perspective rather than biological determinism.

With the emphasis in the discipline being on the social learning of sex roles, many textbooks on the sociology of the family continue to discuss sex roles as if they were a dichotomy of either instrumental-

expressive, traditional vs. equalitarian, etc. within the family system. However, many of these same texts go on to note that these types are ideal types and do not exist in reality. Nevertheless, to state, for example, that the man in the family is instrumental and the woman expressive obscures more than it illuminates. Perhaps by putting sex roles into a dichotomy, research into this matter has been stifled. Millman (1971) concludes that the typical division of sex roles according to sex serves as a "...device which enables a social system to preserve contradictory qualities or features....By dividing things up this way, the system can deny that the contradictory needs or values exist..." (774). In the American case, it is the women who represent the past and things that have been left behind.

In most American families, the husband is the primary economic provider; that is, according to some writers, he is the instrumental connection between the outside system and the family subsystem. This leaves the wife with the duties and responsibilities of the family. Her primary task consists of caring for the children - an instrumental task within the family. "With respect to emotion expressive behavior within the family, there is little evidence that this is more the domain of the wife than of the husband. Because we cover up all these complexities when we say that husbands generally play instrumental roles and wives play expressive roles (within family), it is probably better to abandon that principle entirely ..." (Udry, 1971:312). Udry (1971) continues:

It seems reasonable to conclude that in a family with children at home, the human relationship and the emotional and instrumental requirements of living together are too complex for a simple division of roles along instrumental - expressive

lines. Rather, each spouse is required to be sometimes instrumental, sometimes expressive in his behavior (312).

Dunn (1960) in her study of adolescents' marriage role expectations found that they showed strong leanings toward similarity of sex roles and equalitarian norms. On household activities:

The majority of both sexes agreed that the wife and husband would share household tasks according to individual interests and abilities rather than according to "man's work" and "woman's work" (101).

However, it is interesting to note that when it came to specific areas of responsibility, "...more girls than boys listed the responsibility of 'cooking' and keeping the house as theirs. Outside chores, including keeping the yard, repairs, and painting...were viewed as the husband's area" (101). Dunn, in her conclusions, notes: "...findings of the study suggest that the concept of 'equality' in family member roles is not unidimensional, but, instead, may vary considerably from one area of family interaction to another..." (1960:103).

Within marriage there are a number of pressures which lead a couple away from a polarization of role differences. Posing may be minimized because of the intimate relationship. In addition, the complexity of the relationship does not permit a polarity to continue. The result is that family interaction is not as sharply differentiated along a polarity as many people think. "Couples think that they will be more traditional in their role differentiation than they actually are" (Udry, 1971:311).

Landis, in support of the contention that husbands may participate in activities that are often assumed to be the duties and responsibilities of the wives, presented the following table.

Table 2

Percent of 202 middle-class and 341 lower-class fathers in Tampa, Florida, who usually assume or share child-training functions listed (Landis, 1965: 139).

| Task | Middle-class fathers (percent) | Lower-class fathers (percent) |
|--|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Teach the children right from wrong and how the family expects them to behave | 82 | 79 |
| 2. Teach the children facts, skills, and how to do things | 80 | 75 |
| 3. Punish the children when they do something wrong | 76 | 76 |
| 4. Tell the children what time to come in at night | 73 | 70 |
| 5. See that the children have fun | 68 | 67 |
| 6. Help the children choose what they will do when they finish school | 65 | 58 |
| 7. See that the children have good table manners | 50 | 47 |
| 8. See that the children go to bed on time | 40 | 49 |
| 9. See that the children do their homework | 44 | 40 |
| 10. Help the children with their schoolwork | 49 | 35 |
| 11. Care for the children when they are sick | 35 | 38 |
| 12. See that the children get to school or work on time | 32 | 25 |
| 13. Get the children up on time in the morning | 28 | 20 |
| 14. See that the children eat the right foods | 19 | 19 |
| 15. See that the children wear the right clothes | 3 | 7 |
| 16. See that the children get washed and dressed | 5 | 5 |

It would appear that particular responsibilities or duties are not exclusively assigned to either the husband-father or wife-mother in the American family. With the increasing number of working wives and mothers and the changes that may occur because of the renewed women's liberation

movement, it is postulated that a status-role dichotomy does not exist in the typical nuclear, neolocal American family. Rather a continuum of husband-father and wife-mother behavior patterns exist, with some being more typical of one or the other while still others are participated in or displayed by both. The question, then, is how does one learn or how is one socialized as to what are the expected behaviors associated with the statuses of husband-father and wife-mother?

According to Udry (1971), marital role expectations are derived from several sources including (1) exposure in the family of orientation, (2) from the mass media and the culture itself, and (3) from the interaction of the two spouses themselves (259). The child's first conceptions of husband-wife roles are derived from his parents. In the family of orientation setting "...more is 'caught' than is formally 'taught' because parents remain blissfully ignorant of themselves as agents of marital socialization. They tend to ignore the impact of their behavior toward one another as spouses on the imagery of marriage being formed by their children ..." (Aldous and Hill, 1969:888). The family setting could be viewed as an arena of several subsystems. The spouses (husband-wife) form one system, the brother-sister or same sex siblings form another, and the parent-child still another. Socialization consists of one generation (husband-wife) communicating directly or indirectly with another generation (the children) via the parent-child link. Aldous and Hill further indicate:

The marital subsystem values its privacy (separate sleeping areas, etc.) and may appear to operate in "closed executive session" on many matters. The sibling subsystem bases its solidarity on its differentiation from the old-fashioned ways of its antecedents and questions what can be learned from a generation so out-of-date (1969:889).

Yet despite these structural difficulties the family remains a primary socialization agent for later marital and familial roles.

For any given child (ego) his stance in the process of learning marital roles is one of observer rather than participant in the marital subsystem. To use Brim and Wheeler's (1966) terminology, his relations to the actors is one of the "they-them" type. Ego observes his parents as objects; as far as the marital dyad is concerned he is an object, not a subject. Little research has been done from this perspective. Most has been done at a more general level comparing scores on marital adjustment scales.

There are some very important limitations to the family of orientation setting for the learning of marital and familial roles. Initially it must be noted that this setting provides no practical on-the-job experience in the necessary skills of marriage. There are very few opportunities to simulate marital role behavior. A second limitation is that this setting is only one family; the probability exists that other family settings are uniquely different. The two spouses coming together in marriage may have come from very different families of orientation and, therefore, may bring with them quite different marital role expectations for themselves as well as their spouse.

With the emphasis on status achievement and occupational as well as residential mobility, it is postulated that one's family of orientation (although still extremely important in early socialization) plays a less important role in the socialization for marital and family roles after the family of procreation has begun. Because it is likely that the newly created family of procreation is neolocal, the families of orientation are not going to be readily available to serve as models of behavior for the

initiates. The new wife or husband is not able to turn to the respective parents for advice or suggestions. In addition, it is quite probable that the status of the family of procreation will differ from that of the family of orientation (DeFleur, 1971:232). Therefore, the problems of the initiates may be foreign to the families of orientation. Also it is likely that the spouses themselves are not from the same neighborhood or family backgrounds as was true prior to increased mobility of the populace.

"When couples grew up in the same local community and had similar family backgrounds the role performance learnings they brought into marriage largely 'dovetailed'. 'Starting out with much the same knowledge, the amount of socialization the couple needed after marriage was minimal. Role performance alternatives less often existed as their associates came from the same community' (Aldous and Hill, 1969:935). In addition, Aldous and Hill note that no longer do marital norms enjoin a clearcut sex-based division of labor and decision-making in which the husband is responsible for matters affecting the family's relations with the broader community leaving internal affairs to his wife. 'Extreme asymmetries in power between husband and wife seem to be diminishing' (Aldous and Hill, 1969:935).

Given the limitations of the family of orientation setting for learning marital and familial roles, it is beneficial that other sources of socialization be available outside the nuclear family. One of these sources is the mass media. As Christenson notes:

Whether it be via newspaper, magazines, books, motion pictures, radio, or television, modern man is being bombarded almost constantly with facts, ideas, persuasions, and emotional stimulations of one sort or another. Some of these are for entertainment, others are for sales promotion....But whatever the medium or the purpose, the exposure of man to this bombardment is extensive, continuous, and the results frequently bewildering....

Since sex, love, marriage, and parenthood are intrinsically interesting, it is understandable that a large proportion of the mass communication barrage is directed toward the family. Almost every publication one reads or program one hears or sees contains something on a family related theme. (Emphasis Christenson's). At their best, these outpourings both inform and motivate the consuming public toward accepted goals in family living; at the worst, they only distort and destroy. Of course, the great bulk of what is offered lies somewhere between these two extremes....There is a tendency to treat complex, personal problems much too briefly, even flippantly, and with distorted emphases (1964:978).

There is an overlapping of fiction and reality in the television fare that has not been given the thorough investigation it deserves, especially if one considers the ubiquity and attention now given this medium of mass communication. The acquisition of information can be viewed as a part of the socialization process.

Socialization can be of two types: the first is intentional and deliberate, the other is unintentional, incidental or secondary. Socialization in the first sense involves specific structured programs or facilities that have as their manifest function the creation of a social being. Examples would include various institutions of formal learning, secret initiation and rituals of various organizations, college orientation weeks, fraternity or sorority pledging, military basic training, etc.

Incidental socialization involves those aspects of learning that are acquired from non-formal sources. Much social information is picked up from peers, interaction with adults, overheard conversations, facial expressions, gestures, an individual's choice of language symbols, etc.

Television serves in both of the above socialization capacities. Its technological potentials have been utilized in all forms of formal educational settings. The effectiveness of this medium in displaying and broad-

casting educational content is unequivocal. It has been demonstrated repeatedly that people do learn from television broadcasts. However, only a minority of all television sets are found in classrooms. Most are found in private residential locations. Even there, it can have functions for the viewer in terms of personal educational enrichment. Aldous and Hill add:

The communication media...provide a variety of images of life in other families which the classes and sexes sample differently. The more highly educated, white collar classes come in contact with a greater portion of the spectrum, because they are more apt to supplement their television viewing and newspaper reading with novels and plays. The working and lower classes tend more to confine their viewing and reading to television and the popular forms of journalism that focus in the image of the consumption-conscious equalitarian family (1969:901).

What, then, is the television medium portraying concerning the contemporary institution of marriage and family?

A study that attempted to get at one aspect of televised family images was that of Foster (1964). Her assumptions were (1) that much learning from television is incidental, (2) information on adult life is one of the chief topics of incidental learning, and (3) it is possible for children to form an inaccurate and unbalanced picture of adult life and adult roles by viewing television (353). She further contends that television presentations have more impact if they "...touch on ideas or values for which the child is emotionally ready. It might be conjectured that since children are familiar with family situations, they may attribute more realism to family situation series than actually exists. Investigations...show that retention is higher when the television action portrays a familiar setting such as home or school" (353). Unfortunately, Foster did not cite these investigations.

Foster's research design focused on the comparison of the images of an ideal father (as provided by 28 real fathers) as opposed to the images from television. The former were very moral, reputable, wholesome, quite rational, objective, and logical, as well as calm, relaxed, more sociable, extroverted rather than solitary. In addition, the ideal father is consistent, predictable, warm, and sincere.

From such television shows as "Lassie", "Danny Thomas", "Dennis the Menace", and "Father of the Bride", it was concluded that the fathers in these shows were "...very significantly less adequate, competent, effective, wise, strong, decisive, consistent, and predictable than the ideal" (354). This was determined by having the 28 fathers utilize an ideal father scale some four weeks prior to viewing and later applied it to the previous shows. Foster concludes that "the social anxiety caused by the unknown effect of television warrants additional content analyses of the way in which social roles are portrayed in family television series..." (355).

A final source of marital and familial role behaviors is the interaction of the spouses themselves. In some ways the interaction in the marital dyad is simplified by homogeneity in the ages of the spouses. Usually they are of the same generation; in addition, they may share a similar group of experiences, etc.

Yet other properties of this small group may tend to complicate rather than simplify role problems. The matter of sexuality is an obvious one. One has been raised to be masculine, the other feminine. Succinctly, this difference could serve as a basis of different appraisals of various interpersonal situations, conflicts, etc. Secondly, as noted previously, the spouses come from different families of orientation. Each may have been

prepared for marriage in different ways.

If the above properties of the marital dyad (small group) are correct, then it may be assumed that the participants in the dyad may have difficulties in role behavior. Since the incumbents of the statuses of wife and husband are novices, they will experience role ambiguities, conflicts and frustrations. For each of the marital statuses, there are two sets of expectations. Both the man and woman have their own definitions of what each is expected to do as incumbents of a particular status. Also, they both have expectations of each other's position. Problems may exist when the husband's perceptions of his duties do not coincide with those of his wife. The same might be true for the wife's role behaviors. Self-role expectations vis-a-vis spouse's expectations normally do not always agree. This is the natural result of differences in family of orientation, various socio-economic characteristics, educational background, or other agencies of socialization. (For more on this, see Roleder (1973) Marriage Means Encounter.)

The focus of this research project is limited to one medium (television) of mass communication that may provide information on marital role expectations and behaviors. Of special concern are the behaviors or acts portrayed by the incumbents of the marital and familial statuses-roles as they serve as imitative models. These behavioral models may be operating at two levels. The behaviors displayed may serve as a pre-marital socialization agent. On the other hand, they may portray behaviors that serve a source of solutions to conflicts in marital role expectations.

At present there is a void of information as to what marital and familial behaviors are being presented on television. The contribution

of materials to fill that gap is the primary purpose of this project. For the present, the impact of the discerned behaviors will be limited to a theoretical discussion coupled with the generation of specific hypotheses. But, operating from the assumption that people can learn from television, future research projects can be developed to empirically test these hypotheses.

CHAPTER III. THE METHODOLOGY

The focus of this investigation centers on a limited area of television content, namely marital and familial role behaviors. As noted in the previous chapter, it is postulated that these televised behaviors can influence behavior and, in this way, function to maintain not only the institution of marriage and family but also society. However, the development of measures to ascertain evidence in support of this assumption lags behind.

A functional analysis is heuristic in providing an understanding of certain social phenomena and for the generation of theoretical hypotheses. Unfortunately, such hypotheses are not directly amenable to empirical investigation. The discussion of functions assumes a definition of some system or subsystem. The parameters of the system are defined into existence. Therefore, one's definition of a system may not coincide with that of another. Also one gets into the matter of deciding if a particular phenomenon is manifest, latent, or dysfunctional for the system under consideration. In essence, then, a functional approach involves a personal bias on the part of the researcher, a bias which negates objective investigation.

Secondly, a functional discussion is at a high level of abstraction. It is broad in scope, encompassing many interrelated items. For example, the American society (system) is quite broad and involves many aspects. The abstractness of a functional approach is a major problem in empirically investigating "functions".

By utilizing the cultural norms theory (which assumes media can in-

fluence behavior) in concert with the functional approach, one can get some empirical indicators which reflect theoretically the functions of mass media. Changes in behaviors, attitudes, expectations, or norms are testable. Findings regarding these items can be theoretically important at both the specific level of cultural norms as well as at the more abstract level of functions.

Methodology problems also exist. No doubt many social scientists feel that it is unfortunate that television is so ubiquitous in our society. Their research findings would be so much more conclusive if it were possible to get completely uncontaminated groups upon which a laboratory experiment could be conducted. Such groups are not available especially in the Western world.

The matter of an "unspoiled sample" has similar implications for other major research methods in mass communication (e.g. the field correlational study). In trying to demonstrate that two (or more) variables vary together, it is extremely difficult to account for all the extraneous variables that may be influencing the relationship under investigation. For example, a demonstration of a relationship between exposure to televised violence and violent behaviors would have to control for the influence of additional variables such as family setting, perception of programs being real or fictional, personality factors, socio-economic factors, ad infinitum.

Assuming that the above difficulties can be overcome and a relationship between exposure and behavior exists, this relationship does not in and of itself mean a causal relationship. Just because two things vary together, it does not follow that one causes the other. For example, a

relationship exists between exposure to violent cartoons and violent behavior. Exposure does not necessarily cause violent behavior; perhaps viewers who are basically violent choose to watch violent programs. This explanation also explains the relationship.

Exposure to one program may not be enough to acquire behaviors. A research project that attempts to measure the impact of that exposure may not turn up anything conclusive. Much of television content is repetitive. Therefore, an investigation regarding effects may need to be done over a longer period of time than just one exposure. The impact of one program, one evening's viewing, etc., may not be measurable but the cumulative effects might be. The reverse may also be found. One may acquire behaviors from exposure, but not accept it (or just forget it) as a model for future interaction patterns.

The study of long range effects of television exposure is rare. This is especially true with marital and family content on television. In prelude to any such investigation, the characteristics of this television content must first be outlined. In mass communication jargon, the content is referred to as the "message".

The "message" is only one aspect of a very complicated communication process. Figure 5 displays the location of the "message" in a simplified communication model.



Figure 5

A model of the communication process

An example of how the various items relate might be a sender (father) may

send the message ("no date with John tonight") via of the channel (air waves) to the receiver (daughter).

To investigate the "message" of the mass media, the method of content analysis will be utilized. Content analysis is a "...tool for observing and analyzing the overt communication behavior of selected communicators" (Budd et al. 1967:17) as well as "...a data collection technique in the same sense that personal interviews, self-administered questionnaires and observational protocols are data collection techniques" (Mitchell, 1967: 230). Berelson (1954:488) writes that "...systematic content analysis attempts to refine more casual descriptions of the content, so as to show objectively the nature and relative strength of the stimuli applied to the reader or listener." "Content analysis is always performed on the message" (Holsti, 1969:24). "Furthermore, it is used frequently to describe the attributes of messages without reference to either the intentions (encoding process) of the sender or of the effect of the message upon those to whom it is directed (decoding process)" (Holsti, 1969:27). Figure 6, page 71, depicts the application of content analysis to the communication process.

The major purpose of this analysis of the messages transmitted by television is twofold: (1) to describe and compare the status-role behaviors (husband-father, wife-mother) of the characters portraying marriage and family interaction and, (2) to generate hypotheses as to the socializing effects that such portrayals may have on the television viewer.

In other words, what behaviors are being broadcast that can influence one's behavior within the institution of marriage and family. Theoretically, television can influence behavior by presenting patterns (1) sup-

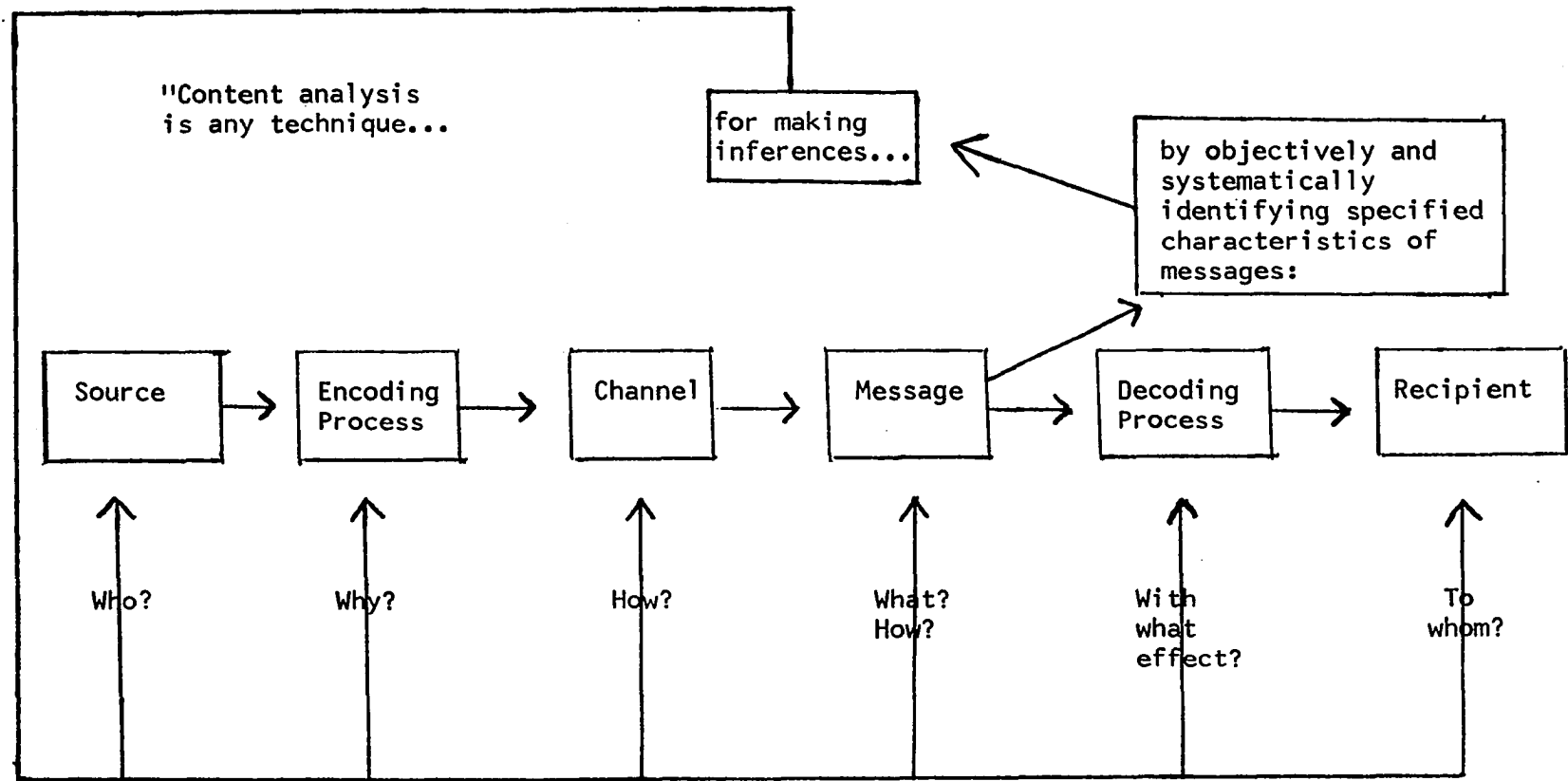


Figure 6

Content analysis and the communication process (Holsti, 1969:25)

portive of the existing behaviors (2) alter the present patterns, or (3) present new patterns. At this point in time, television's messages on this topic have not been explored; sociologists do not know what behaviors are televised that the viewer may acquire and/or adopt. At the abstract level, the function of such content needs also to be discussed.

According to Connolly (1972) there are eight major formats that television programs may have. Each format has specific variations. These are called "program types". For example, contained within the dramatic format are ten types of dramas. (For a complete listing see Appendix A). There were five program types (discerned from a period of saturation viewing) that contained contemporary marital and familial behaviors: the light situation comedy, the serial, the studio quiz, the movie (also a format) and the prestige drama. Programs from each of these five types were included in the week's sample of television programs. Figure 7 displays the overall purposes of this investigation.

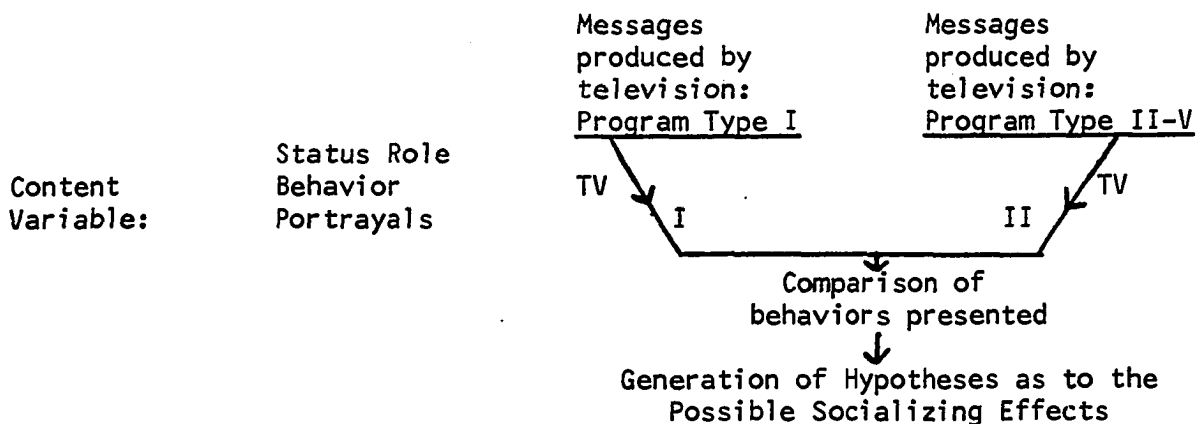


Figure 7

Purposes of investigation

The Instrument: The primary variables are the status-role behaviors of husband-father, wife-mother as previously outlined. The method by which this will be operationalized involves a multi-stage procedure. Since this matter of marital role behavior is a basic part of any class or text on the Sociology of the Family (See Udry, 1971 Chapters 4 and 13; Bell, 1971, Chapters 12 and 17; Turner, 1970, Chapter 12), the writer enlisted the assistance of such a class in the construction of a set of criteria by which this concept of marital role behavior can be investigated. From two heterogeneous classes (age, sex, college class, academic major) in the sociology of the family in the spring of 1972 were collected lists of various items that were considered by the students to be typical activities of the husband-father and wife-mother incumbents in their own families of orientation.

Those items most frequently mentioned were then utilized as the primary acts or behaviors for the construction of the instrument. (It was necessary because of the open-ended nature of the husband-father, wife-mother role behavior questions to reduce them into a more parsimonious list by putting together similar behavior into more general categories.) In addition, other behaviors displayed by the television actors in the respective status-role positions were also recorded as these were displayed. (The recording instrument is contained in Appendix C for further reference.) The initial instrument was utilized in a pilot-test in which two coders viewed video-taped subject-matter programs. In addition to this writer, the other coder was briefed and had read the theoretical aspects of the research design as well as being familiar with the

primary categories of analysis - the scenes and marriage and family acts. This pilot test of the instrument displayed the ambiguities of some behavior headings and were accordingly refined. The inter-coder reliability was determined by the percentage of agreement between the paired coders. From the refined instrument, developed from repeated viewings of taped subject-matter programs, the reliability between the coders on the number of scenes portrayed was .80 (80%); on the number of acts portrayed .83 (83%); and overall .82 (82%). It would appear that the instrument overall has a high degree of reliability reflecting the properties of the material being studied.

Categories: The first category is "Prevalence". Prevalence refers to that portion of television programs that present contemporary marital and familial settings involving a conjugal family structure. This category does not include the status-roles of grandparents, in-laws, and other possible members of the extended family. However, it must be noted that the incumbents of the husband-father, wife-mother statuses may interact and display behaviors relevant to extended family members; these are not included in the analysis of the role behaviors. Also included in the analysis were those family units presented as "broken" conjugal units, such as those resulting from the death of a spouse, divorce, or separation. The enumeration of the prevalence of the subject-matter indicates the proportion of this material in all the televised programs broadcast during the week of study. Prevalence, then, is a percentage of the daily programs by networks that contain contemporary marital and familial scenes. Furthermore, it gives an indication of the likelihood of encountering the subject-matter in the course of non-selective daily viewing.

The subject-matter is narrowed further by limiting the investigation to a specific unit within this category. "A 'unit' is a short section or segment of a broadcast program in which some type of material is presented ..." (Connolly, 1972).

For the purposes of this investigation, the presented material which is of primary concern is verbal and/or physical interaction between husband-father and wife-mother and/or between one or both of these respective incumbents and their children. Subsequently, this material of concern will be referred to as the "recording unit".

Within the recording unit the investigation focuses on "scenes". A scene is that segment of the program broadcast in which the interaction between the incumbent (of the above status-roles) and another person remains constant. In other words, a scene changes with the introduction of a new character into the interaction. For example, one scene could be the husband and wife discussing financial problems. Their son enters the room; another scene would commence when either the husband or wife begins to interact verbally or physically with him. The mother asks about his whereabouts all evening; the son replies. This would be a second scene. Now the father also begins to talk with their son; this would be a third scene. For the purpose of this investigation there were six possible scenes within the recording unit. In terms of verbal or physical interaction from the point of initiation, these scenes were: husband to wife, father to son, father to daughter or wife to husband, mother to son, and mother to daughter.

Other ways in which a scene could be defined would be a change from a "talk" scene to one of violence. It could also be defined as a shift in

mood, from one of extreme seriousness, or a definite shift in subject-matter. It could also be a change from a monologue to a dialogue (Connolly, 1972).

For each scene within the recording unit, the frequency of marital and familial acts was recorded. An "act" is that behavior displayed by the incumbent of the status-role position of either husband-father or wife-mother. For any given scene within the recording unit, there could be a variety of acts. However, only those acts that took place in the interaction between husband and wife and/or with their children were enumerated. An example might aid clarity. A husband-father interacting with his son (a scene within the recording unit) might be assisting him with his pajamas, reading him a bed-time story, and kissing him good-night (three acts). These would be recorded as three acts under the scene "father-son" on the recording instrument. Subsequent scenes might portray the same incumbent of the father-husband status-role interacting with the mailman. This interaction would be recorded as a non-marital or non-familial scene; the acts portrayed would not be recorded. All interaction was recorded as taking place in either a marital and familial scene or a non-marital and non-familial scene. However, only in the former was the frequency of specific acts enumerated.

An overall indicator of the frequency of marital and familial acts within the subject-matter category is computed via the "rate" of which there are three: the rate per program, the rate per minute, and the rate per recording unit. Each rate expresses the frequency of marital and familial acts divided by the total number of televised scenes, total number of exclusive minutes, and total number of marital and familial scenes re-

spectively. (Exclusive minutes contain no commercials or irrelevant "leads" or "tails").

The "subject-matter score" refers to the percentage of the total scenes presented in the subject-matter program that were depicting marital and familial scenes. This score, then, is the total number of scenes divided by the total number of marital and familial scenes.

Finally, "the program score" results from the summation of the "rates" and the "subject-matter score". This score reflects the concentration of marital and familial matter by program as well as over time. Furthermore, this score permits direct comparisons between various selected measures such as program type or networks. Figure 8, page 78, outlines the various categories and units of enumeration.

| <u>Subject-Matter</u> | <u>Unit (Recording)</u> | <u>Scene</u> | <u>Act</u> |
|--|--|--|---|
| Contemporary marital and familial settings as broadcast by television. | Interaction between husband-father and wife-mother, and/or these Incumbents interacting with children. | Each segment of the "unit" in which the interaction between characters remains constant. | The actual status-role behaviors exhibited. |

Prevalence - Percentage of plays or programs that depict the subject-matter category.

Subject-Matter Score - expresses the percentage of each subject-matter program that depicts marital and familial scenes.

Rates: Rate per program - expresses the frequency of marital and familial acts divided by the total number of scenes.

Rate per minute - expresses the frequency of marital and familial acts divided by the total number of exclusive minutes.

Rate per recording unit - expresses the frequency of marital and familial acts divided by the total number of marital and familial scenes

Program Score - expresses the overall score of the program(s) by selected measures as computed from the summation of the subject-matter score, the rate per program, the rate per minute, and the rate per recording unit.

Figure 8
Categories of analysis

CHAPTER IV. THE SAMPLE

An analysis of the total television universe is overwhelming and financially impossible; therefore, a sample of a week's television fare was utilized. Prior to the analysis and subsequent investigation of the sample drawn, the writer spent three weeks determining the loci of the subject-matter category. This was accomplished by saturation viewing of daily programming to discern when (in terms of broadcast hours) and where (in terms of program types) the subject-matter category was being broadcast.

The three weeks of saturation viewing indicated that the five previously mentioned types of programs were the most consistent in repeatedly presenting contemporary marital and familial scenes. Other program types (e.g. interview programs or stunt) occasionally had a married couple on; however, these program types were not consistent over time. One week they would be portrayed, the next week they were not. Therefore, it was decided that to be able to plan what programs to investigate, the analysis would have to be limited to these five types which were consistently broadcasting the subject-matter. (Contained within each type were specific television programs.) Such a procedure was further necessitated by limited technical facilities. Another possible sampling procedure would be Gerbner's (1971) in which he analyzed only the networks' dramatic programs broadcast during prime evening time (weekdays and Saturday from 7:30-11 p.m. and Sunday evening 7 to 11 p.m.). This procedure was not utilized because this would have eliminated certain program types that also displayed the subject-matter materials.

After the period of saturation viewing determined the broadcast hours as well as program types that contained the subject-matter, a sample of one week's television fare was drawn. The calendar position of the sample drawn was from Saturday, January 27th through Friday, February 2, 1973. This calendar position, being in the middle of the television broadcast season, was late enough so as not to include those programs that were dropped from the new scheduling which began in the fall of 1972 and early enough as to not include re-runs of previous programs. (Although the inclusion of re-runs would not have been detrimental to the study.)

To the extent that it was technically possible (having only one borrowed video-tape recorder and six one-hour video-tapes), each of the specific television programs containing the subject-matter category, as indicated by the results of the saturation viewing, was video-taped for analysis. The taping began at 11:30 a.m. and went as late as 1:00 a.m., this being determined by the television schedule's broadcast of subject-matter programs. In those instances where the program hours conflicted, the program to be taped was randomly selected by assigning a number to each and drawing one from a container. However, if it was apparent that a program would be completely excluded from the analysis because of the random selection process, at least one broadcast was intentionally recorded and analyzed.

The loci of the television programs containing the subject-matter category were scattered considerably over the broadcast week. As indicated by Table 1 (in Appendix A), Monday had the greatest prevalence of the subject-matter category with 23% (13 hours) of the 55 and 3/4 hours of

broadcasting by the three networks containing marital and familial scenes. Ranking the remainder of the sample days, 17% of Wednesday's and Friday's programs displayed the subject-matter, 15% of Tuesday's and Thursday's programs, 6% of Sunday's programs and 9% of Saturday's programs contained the subject-matter.

The stations selected represented the three major national television networks: CBS, Spartanburg, S. C.; NBC, Charlotte, N. C.; and ABC, Asheville, N. C. The network transmissions relayed by these stations were recorded from cable television. This was necessary for two reasons: to avoid the difficulties of video-taping poor non-cable reception typical of rural South Carolina, and to get representative stations from the major networks. All three stations' programs may be viewed without a cable connection, but the quality of reception varies greatly.

Stations representing the national networks were selected for two major reasons. One reason was no local stations carried the subject-matter with any consistency as determined during the period of saturation viewing. Secondly, the national network programs receive much wider exposure than would a locally produced program; therefore, the project findings would be more applicable to any community within broadcast range of a major network television station. Of the three networks, CBS had the longest broadcast week of 132 hours of which 28 hours or 21% contained the subject-matter category. CBS was followed by NBC having 130 hours of broadcast hours of which $14\frac{1}{2}$ hours or 11% contained the subject-matter category and ABC with $12\frac{1}{4}$ hours of which 10 hours or 8% contained the subject-matter category.

The total number of broadcast hours for the three networks for the week of investigation was $386\frac{1}{4}$ hours. Fourteen percent ($52\frac{1}{2}$) of these hours contained the subject-matter category. Converting these hours to days indicates that these three networks broadcast more than two solid days of programs that contain contemporary marital and familial settings. Putting it another way, any given viewer randomly selecting his programs would stand a good chance of viewing a subject-matter program. However, as previously noted, most viewers are selective in their viewing. This selectivity of programs which usually includes the serials, light comedy situation, and prestige dramas increases the likelihood of the viewer watching programs that contain contemporary marital and familial scenes. The prevalence of the subject-matter becomes important in that the viewer's possibility of viewing marital and familial scenes increases because of his selective patterns of viewing.

Regarding the types of programs included in the sample, Table 2 in the Appendix indicates the types by network. All programs are discussed and rates computed on the basis of "exclusive" minutes or hours. "Exclusive" hours are broadcast hours that include no commercials, no irrelevant "leads" or "tails", or credits. "Leads" are brief introductory scenes, "tails" are brief concluding scenes which open or close respectively many television programs. "Credits" are the listings of producers, writers, etc., which were not analyzed. Only those "leads" or "tails" specifically related to each broadcast were included in the analyses. Relevant "leads" and "tails" were more often typical of the serials than any of the others. (It might be parenthetically noted that about ten minutes of each one-half

hour of broadcasting is devoted to commercials or station-breaks regardless of the program type.) By networks, CBS broadcast more exclusive hours of the subject-matter (with the exception of studio quiz and prestige drama) than did either of the two other networks. The number of hours of serials broadcast by CBS was more than the combined total of NBC and ABC. The networks were quite similar in the broadcast hours of movies and light situation comedies. Studio quiz and prestige drama programs in this sample were restricted to ABC. CBS broadcast 689 minutes during the sampling week; NBC and ABC had 386 and 321 minutes respectively. The total, then, for the sample week was 1396 minutes, or 23 hours and 16 minutes of exclusive subject-matter.

Examples of the serials would include NBC's "Days of our Lives" or CBS's "Secret Storm". Light situation comedies include ABC's "Bewitched", CBS's "All in the Family", and NBC's "Sanford and Son". "Owen Marshall" is an example of "Prestige Drama" and the "Newlywed Game" typifies the studio quiz. Tables 3-6 in the Appendix give the programs included in the sample, their types, the networks for each, and the daily position of each program for the week of analysis.

Appendix B provides a comparison of the overall and specific indicators by types, as well as the comparisons between networks' programs by specific indicators. Contained in this appendix are the various rates per program, subject-matter scores, etc.

A make-believe viewer can be of some assistance in summarizing the specific indicators and comparisons made. This viewer has several purposes in mind for viewing television. First the viewer would like to find

and follow for a period of time portrayals of contemporary marital and familial life on television. He would have his best chance by turning to a CBS or NBC station. In terms of selecting the program that had the highest proportion of its total scenes portraying the subject-matter, this viewer should select NBC's "The Doctors". (Noticeably absent in "The Doctors" sampled were the often typical scenes of extra-marital affairs, and jealousies observed in the weeks of saturation viewing.) Overall, NBC broadcasts had a higher proportion of their scenes being marital and family scenes.

Another purpose that this viewer has is to view the most acts possible in a minute that are exemplary of contemporary marital and familial interaction. The program that displayed the most marital and familial acts per exclusive minute was CBS's "Bridget Loves Bernie", a light situation comedy. However, on a network basis, NBC dominated. The light situation comedies presented more per exclusive minute than the serials.

A final purpose of the viewer is to focus his attention on the interaction taking place in a scene (constant interaction between two people) involving a wife-mother or husband-father with spouse or children. A specific program that presented the highest number of marital and familial acts per constant scene of conjugal interaction was CBS's "Bob Newhart" show. However, on a network basis, NBC presented more marital and familial acts per scene than the other networks. In terms of program types, the serials, overall, presented more acts than the other program types.

The most important item to discuss in terms of utilizing these comparisons is the purpose of the viewing, what type of program does one

want to view, and what networks are available for viewing. From there, one can decide what program type, what specific program, and on what network he can locate a contemporary depiction of marital and familial interaction.

Chapter Five presents a discussion of what television is presenting in terms of the subject-matter.

CHAPTER V. THE FINDINGS: MARITAL AND FAMILIAL PORTRAYALS ON TELEVISION

The following discusses the sociological and social psychological implications of television portrayals of marital and familial life. These presentations are important for the individual viewer, as he interacts with his spouse as well as his children. What he sees on television can be learned and may be adopted as models for personal behaviors. In essence, the viewer's behavior may be influenced by television exposure. In addition, since television reaches so many viewers with the same repetitive content, these portrayals may have consequences for society at large. Here, again, the cultural norms and functional theories are allied to investigate the importance of this television fare.

Much of the television fare contains content pertinent to contemporary marital and familial interaction. This writer's data indicate that over forty-eight non-exclusive hours of such content is broadcast by the three major networks weekly. Not included are duplicate network stations or the Public Broadcasting System which may also have similar content. This content appears to be meaningful when one considers that, as LoSciuto (1971) indicated, many people deliberately watch many programs that display this content. More importantly, many people learned something from the programs including solutions to personal problems. For these viewers, many of the portrayals show life as it really is, the activities televised do happen in real life.

Regardless of whether or not the viewer utilizes the material presently or at some future time, nevertheless, the exposure may still affect his behavior at some future time. The influencing potential of television

may not be immediately realized. In terms of future use, television may serve as an anticipatory socialization agent representing a type of rehearsal for actual performance in some groups once entree has been accomplished. In the same manner that television viewers learn the role behaviors of "cops and robbers", so, too, they learn and may adopt televised prescriptions and proscriptions associated with the status-roles of husband-father and wife-mother.

The Implications of Televised Role Behaviors for Society

Although the basic unit of analysis for this project was marital and familial role behaviors (with enumeration of "acts"), these behaviors have additional implications for the viewer. These behaviors took place not in isolation, but as an integral part of a larger whole. Encompassing the specific role behaviors was the "theme" of the program. The theme of the program refers to the topic(s) discussed or portrayed. A one or two sentence summary of a program for a television listing approaches the meaning of "theme". Marital and familial themes were deduced from the role behaviors displayed. The opposite of emitted themes would be omitted themes. Some of these, as well as those broadcast, are indicated.

Television's marital and familial themes as well as role behaviors are important for society because they affect the institution of marriage and family. An "institution" reflects the society's preferred ways of handling recurring social needs. For example, it is preferred and legally required that a marriage be composed of two non-related adults of the opposite sex; furthermore, it is expected that this union be life-long.

Many items of the social structure - norms, mores, laws, role expectations, values, - all inter-relate in support of the institutionalized forms. Television's portrayals of contemporary marital and familial life have an impact at the institutional or societal level as well as for the conjugal unit. First a look at these implications at the societal level.

Certain topics or themes may be deliberately not broadcast, not discussed, or presented by the mass media. Absent from the programs analyzed were the possibilities of a polyandrous, polygynous, or group marriage. Omitted totally were scenes depicting pre-marital sexual relations, non-marrieds living together, family communes, and incest. Television's omission of these topics is supporting institutional expectations. Non-neolocal residential patterns were also few in number. Two light situation comedies ("All in the Family" and "Paul Lynde") and one movie ("The Thrill of it All") did display a married daughter living at home with her husband. However, in all these instances it was implied that these matrilocal residential patterns were not to be of a long duration; the newly married couples were living with relatives until one or both could finish college. In one serial ("Another World") a daughter was living with her husband in her widowed mother's home because the husband had just been released from prison. None of these four examples indicated that residing with relatives was preferred over a neolocal residence.

The majority of the marital units were conjugal. Of the sixty-three marital units recorded, 71% were conjugal. There were fourteen recorded instances of broken conjugal units. It was not always possible to tell the cause of the broken unit, but of these fourteen, five were due to divorce,

two deaths, one separation, and the remaining six unknown. In some instances it was not possible to determine the definite nature of the marital relationship for a variety of reasons. For example, some programs in the sample broadcast only interaction between a parent and child with references to the other absent parent. This was not recorded on the instrument. Therefore, it is not possible to state the nature of these marital unions. However, it is assumed that those recorded are representative of all those presented had the programs been analyzed longitudinally to determine the nature of all marital and familial units.

Those programs portraying broken conjugal units appeared to have more difficulties than non-broken units. There were child visitation problems, child discipline problems, role model problems, absence of another adult with whom to discuss parental concerns, adolescent sex education inquiries, arguments between the separated parents when they happened to meet, etc. These were some of the noted problem areas displayed in the broken family units. Although the exact frequency of each problem was not recorded because of its being tangential to the primary concern with conjugal role behaviors, it is the writer's impression that such problems were more frequent with the broken rather than non-broken unit.

The presentation of difficulties within broken units has two specific implications for society. It serves as a symbolic example of what may occur should the marital unit be broken or terminated; this emphasizes the social desirability of maintaining the conjugal unit. On the other hand, the portrayal of these difficulties assists those having such difficulties by providing answers or solutions. It is this writer's opinion, however,

that the solutions presented are often unrealistic because the problem may be treated in a very light-hearted and superficial manner. For example, "The Partridge Family" portrayed scenes in which the oldest boy (a high school student) falls in "love" with a woman four years his elder. Although to the youth involved this was a very serious problem, it was treated very flippantly.

The general themes of the programs depicting intact conjugal units were not oriented toward intense intra-familial problems. It would appear that the problems portrayed in these marital units were not as severe as those portrayed in the broken conjugal units. Rather these units were depicted to be working harmoniously with the majority of acts initiated by the mother and father incumbents toward their children generally being supportive of the societal idea that children and child rearing are fun and exciting (LeMasters (1970) calls this a "myth"). For example, the six children of the "Brady Bunch" auditioned and appeared on a television talent show to earn money for their parents' anniversary present. Although the parents were surprised at seeing them on television, not one act by either parent displayed shock at their leaving home without permission, or taking personal risks in getting to the studio across town. These children would appear to range in age from 7 to 16. They were not even reprimanded for leaving the home area without notifying anyone. Such themes reflected little severe or persistent parent-children problems or conflicts.

The general perception of this writer is that the broadcast themes define for the viewer the marital and familial state as basically conflict free especially as they portray acts initiated by the parents toward the

children. Although there were several instances of parental behavior (e.g. spanking) that literally fit some of the broad definitions of violence, there was not one instance of the severe violence or abuse against children as discussed by Goode (1971) or Gil (1971) nor against one's spouse. The conjugal unit was basically harmonious and free of any severe conflicts. There would be little support for the contention that the marital and familial unit is a conflict filled group and that harmony in marriage results from conflict management. According to television fare, on-going severe conflict is rare and most certainly abnormal in the American family.

Regardless of one's socio-economic status, sex, religion, ethnic or racial background, television's depictions of the contemporary American family unit emphasize the theme of harmony as a conjugal, primarily neo-local unit. At the societal level television functions to maintain the institution of marriage and family as a preferred state. The content legitimizes the present set of prescriptions and proscriptions regarding this institution. People who violate or deviate (divorced, separated couples included) are presented as having more frequent and more serious marital and familial problems. This emphasis on harmony is functional for the American society in that it displays to the viewer the desirability of this type of marital union. The repetition of this theme is, in itself, indicative of a cultural theme. In this sense television is an agent of cultural transmission emphasizing an important cultural expectation; television influences behavior in a way consistent with cultural consensus.

Noting that any given viewer brings into his perception of a television exposure a unique social history, the harmony emphasis may not be

what he has personally experienced in marriage. Perhaps his marriage is full of problems and inter-personal conflicts. To him this theme is rather farcical. Nevertheless, keeping in mind that a viewer may acquire and accept televised acts as guidelines for his own behavior (even though he is ostensibly being entertained), one can learn solutions for his own marital and familial problems. The viewer who has had nothing but conflict in his marriage may identify with a troubled incumbent in a marital status role taking and perhaps being helped by this television information. Marital scenes and acts relevant to the viewer's situation could be useful providing him with solutions to his problems.

In both of the above instances, the same general theme of harmony could be functional for society in that it emphasizes the preference for the institution of marriage and family while at the same time giving impetus toward the reduction of marital conflict hoping to recreate a harmonious relationship. Television's themes display preference for and the maintenance of the institution of marriage and family. In both of the above examples, the same themes, although functional to some while appearing dysfunctional to others, preserve and maintain the institution. In one the institution is preserved by displaying it as a harmonious group; in the other, suggestions or solutions may be portrayed as to how to reduce marital conflict. Television's portrayals of contemporary marital and familial life function to maintain the on-going system. These portrayals assist in maintaining the institution of marriage and family in accordance with social expectations.

Television's ostensive purpose is entertainment. But as noted earlier,

it is assumed that television can influence a viewer's behavior as well as have functions for society in general. Both the viewer can acquire while being entertained. The discussion now switches to the cultural norms' postulates of our dual theoretical perspective. However, the reader is cautioned to keep the functional aspect in mind as well. Two postulates of the cultural norms theory are important in amplifying the ways in which a viewer may be better equipped to operate in his society. These postulates are that mass media may reinforce existing cultural patterns and/or introduce new ones in addition to current cultural and social practices or expectations. A third postulate that mass media may change present cultural and social expectations, substituting new ideas in place of the old, will be discussed later. It should be reiterated that these postulates are operative in mass media's omission as well as emission of various content. One must consider not only what television deliberately broadcasts but also what it fails to broadcast.

Television content, at least in the area of displayed marital and familial interaction, supports and reinforces the existing patterns. The "correctness", the "appropriateness" of the institution was not questioned. There were no radical departures from the contemporary residential patterns in the sample. Almost all the couples were neolocal. Even broken conjugal units had residences separated from relatives. There were no major variations in child rearing practices; all of the children were being socialized, at least in the early years, by parents or, in some cases, extended family members who would babysit or take care of the children for brief periods of time. There were no cases typifying family communes or Israeli-type

kibbutzim in which specialized personnel are in charge of early socialization.

In the majority of the conjugal units portrayed, the husband was the primary breadwinner. Although there were instances of the wife working, her financial contributions were secondary to those of the husband. Only in one movie "The Thrill of it All" did the scenes and acts portray marital disharmony and familial difficulties associated with the wife working. Here, too, were portrayed the difficulties that a woman who is making more money than her husband might face. The husband, as would be expected in terms of cultural expectations, was upset and demanded the wife stay home; she eventually did. The wife's not having enough time for the husband and children was, at least, in part, solved by a live-in maid. The cultural norms theory would theorize that the viewer could learn from such content the woman's place is in the home and that the wife working creates internal problems and tensions. Such information would define for the viewer the social reality which includes a division of labor with the wife at home and the husband's occupation being outside the home. (Acquisition and adoption of this expectation by viewers could be functional for the on-going society.)

At the same time that the television program is emitting the above themes, it is omitting others. For example, no content at all was presented dealing with the unique problem of the live-in-maid vis-a-vis her marital and familial responsibilities, assuming she had some. No problems or solutions were presented regarding her status-role. What if she had children, perhaps some in need of day care centers? For many viewers,

such problems are daily encounters. Yet television fare does not deal with these problems. Reasons for such omissions might be that such problems are lower-class problems and are not known or cared about by middle-class television producers; mothers should not work but stay home and take care of the children.

By omitting certain content themes, the television programs sampled lend support to the status quo. There was an obvious omission of husband-wife role reversals. No scenes depicted the wife leaving for the office and the husband staying home to care for the children, wash clothes, or do the ironing. There were very few emissions of women in occupations other than those typically thought to be female, e.g. no women telephone line-men or truck drivers. If a female viewer, interested in being occupationally equal to men, were looking for supportive content in television, she would be frustrated with its absence, or frustrated with television's traditional statuses and role behaviors for women.

The cultural norms theory's postulate that television content reinforces the existing patterns holds true, at least for this sample. The traditional cultural themes of harmony within the home, the absence of conflict, neolocal residence patterns, the male as the primary breadwinner, and the undesirability of broken conjugal units were supported by the marital and familial themes in the sample programs. By the repetition and emphasis of these themes, television serves a socialization function "teaching" the viewer cultural expectations regarding the institution of marriage and family.

The second postulate of the cultural norms theory is that television

content creates new convictions about certain items. The effect of a given television exposure will be dependent upon the social psychological predisposition of the viewer. For example, if a viewer's cognitive structure includes the "fact that the institution of marriage and family in our society is falling apart, then he can find support for this in the television fare. To this viewer divorce and remarriages, non-marital pregnancies, extra-marital sexual affairs (implied but not actually portrayed) and separations are all indicative of institutional collapse. For viewers with such cognitions, they may find support for these feelings in the television fare. All of these were topics in the scenes analyzed. These portrayals, then, could define the situation regarding the contemporary status of the institution of marriage and family as being in jeopardy. Therefore, such viewers may write letters or campaign against liberalized divorce laws, abortion laws, the Equal Rights Amendment, etc., because they now are convinced that something must be done. They may think that too many deviant practices are going on and that the traditional sanctity and durability of the institution must be regained and maintained.

Viewers with an interest in equality between the sexes in the area of jobs, employment, credit, etc., but who were not aware of sex discrimination, would find reasons for alarm from some of the serials. There were several portrayals of women being denied opportunities and rights normally granted men. For example, a female attorney was not being given cases of equal importance as her male counterparts in the law firm. Another serial related the denial of a female's application for a mortgage even though she met the usual criteria. For some viewers such content creates the

impression or conviction that equality between the sexes does not yet exist. For other viewers, the same content is supportive of already formulated cognitions.

Regarding discrimination because of race, there were so few non-white incumbents in the subject-matter programs that generalizations of any kind are impossible. Two that can be safely made are that there were no miscegenated couples and there were no displayed acts of discrimination in the few scenes containing non-white incumbents in the marital statuses.

Whether or not television and/or other mass media can take credit for the decrease in the birth rate of American families is highly debatable. However, with the exception of two light situation comedies (The Brady Bunch and The Partridge Family), all of the families contained fewer than three children. Many of them only had one. Since the "Brady Bunch" is a family created by remarriage of individuals with three children each, and no portrayed pregnancies since the marriage, it, too, is supportive of the feeling that the United States must keep its birth rate low to avoid over population. The small family plus the demographic concerns displayed by many Americans may be an example of the changing of social norms concerning family size. If so, this is consistent with the potential of television to change existing patterns as explained by the cultural norms theory.

If the statistics are valid, then most people who divorce remarry at some future time. With the liberalization of grounds for divorce in many states, less control or stigma on divorce by institutionalized religion, women's liberation, divorcing for the children's sake rather than staying together, and being concerned about personal happiness, many of the subject-

matter programs had both divorces and remarriages as part of their content. Not only were both topics of discussion by the actors, but some of the broken conjugal units were created by a divorce. Complete conjugal units were also created by remarriages. Probably the most noted example of a remarriage would be "The Brady Bunch". If one can assume that divorce is a part of the whole cultural milieu concerning marriage and family, television portrayals could create the conviction that divorce need not be all that bad. The remarriages on television are portrayed as being very happy and successful. Granted that television portrays some of the problems associated with divorce, it also emphasizes that its traumas need not be totally disastrous. In this way, television, by creating the impression that remarriages are socially approved and desirable, may influence future behavior by laying the groundwork of attitudes and possible behavior patterns should one find himself in a divorced situation wondering about the desirability of remarrying. This is especially important with the increasing frequency of divorce in the United States. These portrayals can ease one's transitions into a second family of procreation. Note how these portrayals are supportive of the general value system that encourages one to be married in our society, even those people who have terminated a previous marriage. Some critics would argue that television's portrayals of harmonious remarriages are precipitating more divorces and separations in the United States. This argument, like that of violence, assumes that television is redefining the institution of marriage and family in such a way as to make divorce rather than working out marital problems the preferable route out of a non-happy situation.

One program each in the prestige drama and serials dealt with a topic that might be considered by some viewers to be controversial. Artificial insemination was the central theme of two programs. On both broadcasts wives were portrayed as having been artificially inseminated without their husband's consent or approval. Both wives were experiencing severe mental anguish for completely different reasons. In the serial, the wife did not know whether to tell her husband about the artificial insemination except when she thought of his possible concerns when the child did not have any of his features, facial characteristics, etc. The wife on the other program had the cooperation of her husband, so she said. He denied this. Eventually it was cleared up, but legally the husband had not cooperated although his verbal commitment was apparent. Not only did these broadcasts function to display the marital and legal problems for the couple involved, but also it showed the problems for the physician as well. It "told" the physician who might be viewing that he had better know legally what he is doing before getting involved with such cases. Getting back to the program's message to husbands and especially wives, it was that to use artificial insemination is dangerous to the continuity of the harmonious marital union and that those women who go ahead alone are susceptible to social shame and ostracism. The wife in the prestige drama was labeled as adulterous and promiscuous as a result of her husband's public outcries; even her best friends refused to send their children to the nursery school owned by this lady. Such telecasts support again the basic cultural value that sexual relations are to be preserved for and exercised within the marital union.

Writers, futurists, and others could view the above presentations as being very important for future social organization in that they lay the foundation for a redefinition of marital and familial responsibilities. This is anticipatory socialization. Such broadcasts prepare the viewer for the eventuality that parents can control the sex of their offsprings. Sex control refers to the various means of pre-selecting the sex of the yet unconceived baby through rhythm methods, sex control pills, sperm treatment and artificial insemination. These are forthcoming technological possibilities about which sociologists, as well as others, need to be concerned (Largey, 1973). Television's portrayals of such material not only socializes for the future but it also displays what needs to be done legally and socially to prepare the way for this technological breakthrough. The necessary social expectations would be in existence when the time comes for sex control of offspring because of the anticipatory socialization and creation of new convictions potential of television.

It appears that television content concerning sexual mores is extremely traditional in comparison to the so-called contemporary "sex revolution". It can be argued that no revolution is taking place because people are only more open about sexual matters, contraceptives are available to the general public, formalized sex education courses, etc. However, if a person perceives a sex revolution to be taking place, then for him cognitively one is. Such a viewer would not find much support for this perception in television. There were no scenes at all depicting any forms of pre-marital courting-sexual activities. There were several instances of displayed extra-marital kissing between married adults along with implied sexual

relations. But accompanying these were serious personal repercussions. In one serial, the result of an extra-marital affair for the female was her murder. Her married male companion was a prime suspect. This same man was refused conjugal interaction by his wife when she found out about his affair. The same general theme of negative sanctions and outcomes accompanied other extra-marital displays. The emission of these scenes displaying what happens to those who have extra-marital sexual affairs is symbolic displaying the wrath of society for violations of one of its most deeply held mores. On the other hand, if there are radical changes taking place, at least as far as the total society is concerned, then perhaps television should be broadcasting more of this material to keep viewers up-to-date in the area of sexual mores. If one can take the following statement of factual changes to be accurate, then television may be maintaining cultural lag. As Udry notes: "It is worth noting that a national sample in 1963 showed 77% of Americans think pre-marital sex is 'wrong'. In the 1969 survey, this had dropped to 68 percent....Studies show that the permissiveness-with-affection orientation is particularly strong among the younger generations of Americans" (1971:126).

Concerning the family's internal division of labor and authority patterns, television may be here creating new impressions. In the sample, both husbands and wives were doing basically the same things within the family unit. Neither was restricted to a particular set of displayed acts. More on role behaviors in the next unit.

Whether or not the families' power structures were basically patriarchal, matriarchal, family council, or democratic, is not easily deter-

mined. There was only one example of the democratic family power structure where the parents and children talked over their future plans or what decision to make. In the family council, as opposed to the democratic unit, the children could out-vote (if three or more children) their parents; in the democratic, the parents have veto power. There were no presentations of the family council type.

Husbands tended to have their areas of responsibility and decision-making within the conjugal unit as did the wives. Other areas of decisions are made together. This division of labor was presented in the televised scenes. However, there appeared to be an overlapping of areas of authority. For instance, in one scene the wife decided that the husband could not beat up her old boyfriend. Another scene depicted the husband deciding his wife could not buy certain clothes he disliked. Overall the frequencies of decisions that affected one's spouse were equal. Each made decisions for the other an equal number of times. This is especially true if one does not include the movie "The Diary of a Mad Housewife"; exclusion of this obviously patricentric movie brings the equality of decisions much closer together. This movie showed the wife playing an obviously subservient role doing everything her husband ordered. She didn't like it, but did it anyway. Eventually she had a non-marital sexual affair with accompanying repercussions at home. She and her husband reconciled with the husband agreeing to be less demanding.

The equality of husband and wife within the family unit may be a new behavior model for some viewers. This would be especially true for the viewer of the lower socio-economic classes in whose family the husband holds the superior position. The repercussions of such equalitarian themes

could create conflict within such families if the wife, for example, "learned" that her position is equal to that of her husband. On the other hand, the husband could agree that her position is equal to his and thereby acquire and accept more middle-class role behaviors. The important variable would be the viewers' predispositions toward the message. (For more on working class norms, see Miller and Riessman 1969.)

Acquisition and acceptance of more equalitarian middle-class expectations could be beneficial for the lower socio-economic viewer were he interested in being upwardly mobile. In this sense television would serve an anticipatory socialization function, socializing the viewer for the realities of the new social position before he gets there.

The occupational opportunities for married women according to the sampled programs are very limited. The majority of the married women were housewives with no other displayed occupational pursuits. A distant second occupation was nurse. The remainder of the female occupations are listed in Table 3. The same table displays the occupational pursuits of the husband. A much greater diversity of possibilities exist for married males than married females.

Coupled especially with the previously noted sex discrimination theme, television may create the impression or define the situation in such a way that viewers may agree that more occupational equality should exist. This is particularly true with the renewed interest and publicity given women's liberation.

Parenthetically, the televised occupations coincided very little with the labor force of Newberry County, South Carolina, the county of residence

for the writer when the television sample was drawn. As Table 3 indicates, those occupations displayed most frequently were upper socioeconomic ones; this is especially true for male occupations (DeFleur et al., 1971:228).

Table 3

One week's frequencies of incumbents occupations
by sex in programs containing marriage & family subject-matter^a

| <u>MALE OCCUPATION</u> | <u>FREQUENCY</u> | <u>FEMALE OCCUPATION</u> | <u>FREQUENCY</u> |
|--------------------------|------------------|--------------------------|------------------|
| 1. Physician | 17 | 1. Housewife | 37 |
| 2. Attorney | 10 | 2. Nurse | 5 |
| 3. Restaurant Owner | 3 | 3. Governess | 2 |
| 4. Architect | 2 | 3. Attorney | 2 |
| 4. Real Estate Developer | 2 | 3. Lab Tech. | 2 |
| 4. Intern | 2 | 3. Secretary | 2 |
| 4. Writer | 2 | 3. Day Care Center | |
| 5. Psychiatrist | 1 | Manager | 2 |
| 5. Lumber Yard Owner | 1 | 3. Part-Time Singer | 2 |
| 5. Lumber Yard Employee | 1 | 3. Librarian | 2 |
| 5. Psychologist | 1 | 3. Interns | 2 |
| 5. Factory Worker | 1 | 4. Manager Book Store | 1 |
| 5. Junkyard Owner | 1 | 4. Medical Doctor | 1 |
| 5. Salesman | 1 | | |
| 5. Writer/Taxi Driver | 1 | | |
| 5. Delicatessen Owner | 1 | | |
| 5. Professor | 1 | | |
| 5. Bookkeeper | 1 | | |
| 5. Juvenile Counselor | 1 | | |
| 5. Advertising Agent | 1 | | |
| 5. Farmer | 1 | | |
| 5. T.V. Talk Show | | | |
| Moderator | 1 | | |

^aSame occupation displayed repeatedly on successive programs may be counted more than once.

The occupational category in Newberry County with the modal frequency is "craftsman, foreman, and kindred workers". The majority of the labor force is associated with the textile mills or forest related products. Only .4%

of the county's labor force is in the two categories of physicians and dentists or engineers. None of the black labor force in the county are in either of these two categories (Census, 1970). Therefore, with the exception of a very few blue-collar occupations there was no congruency of televised occupations with those held by the viewers, at least as far as Newberry County, South Carolina is concerned.

Returning to the subject-matter, as Christenson noted, "...these outpourings (from mass media) both inform and motivate the consuming public toward accepted goals in family living; at the worst, they only distort and destroy" (1964:978). If this can be paraphrased in functional terms, mass media may cultivate and support certain cultural configurations or goals surrounding the institution of marriage and family. Shared convictions that could be reinforced would include the desirability of marriage and family as a life goal, sexual relations should be contained within marriage, and negative social sanctions will occur for those who violate these norms. Furthermore, the woman's place is in the home, there ought to be equality between the husband and wife (at least in certain areas of decision-making), and divorced individuals ought to consider remarriage.

Areas of marital and familial activities in which television may function to redefine the more traditional social expectations include divorce being preferable to remaining married in an unhappy situation and that one can remarry after a divorce with less social stigma than before. Single parent families can work reasonably well even though remarriage is more desirable; artificial insemination is a possibility for couples who cannot reproduce otherwise.

There was little if any material in the programs analyzed that depicted something entirely new, substitutive or additive to the present patterned ways of regulating marital and familial behavior patterns. There were no indications that the marriage and family of the future would exist without the benefit of legalized and socially recognized restrictions and requirements. There was one single-parent family in which the parent had not been previously married. The child was the result of a rape. Outside of this one exception, there were no scenes depicting a female with a child kept from a non-marital pregnancy. Absent also were scenes depicting family communes or family clusters. There was, however, a "hint" of a Roman Catholic priest having more than a "fatherly" interest in a young female parishioner. Roman Catholic priests demitting for marriage is not entirely a novel idea. Maybe television is trying to catch up with contemporary issues. Basically, then, the scenes analyzed contained little content that would socialize the viewer in ways that are new or additive to the present patterns; even more noticeably absent were forms of behavior that would take the place of or substitute for the contemporary marital and familial patterns.

Many of the television programs that portray contemporary marital and familial subject-matter are obviously fictional. Many are humorous and do not deal with serious topics. Regardless of their serious or humorous format, the assumption holds that television can influence behavior and, therefore, have functions for the American society.

Concerning the seriousness of the marital problems presented, the tone of the serials was more serious than the light situation comedies,

and to a degree, also the movies. The themes of the serials dealt with many areas that some have defined as social problems: divorce, non-marital pregnancies, extra-marital relations, illnesses, in-law problems, a kidnapping, a mental replay of a rape, and a suicide attempt. The very nature of the broadcast, the tone of the action, and the topics impress upon the viewer the attention and importance he should give them. This is part of the reasons why so many respondents in various studies have noted that they talk less and pay more attention to the dramatic programs (including soaps) than other programs. And as noted previously, many indicate that they learn from such programs.

The tenor or tone of the light situation comedies is much less focused on or reflective of serious issues. The obvious purpose of this program type is entertainment and relaxation. However, this is not to preclude the possibility that the viewer cannot learn while being entertained. Sociologically, humor and comedy can serve three important functions. First, they can support and implement the socialization process by highlighting certain members of society whose behaviors are considered odd or peculiar. "By 'making fun' of institutions, places, and types of persons humor, wit and comedy reinforce social norms of propriety and indicate the price that has to be paid for deviance from these norms" (Mendelsohn, 1966: 80). These, then, generally support the status quo. From the sample programs, an example would be "Sanford and Son" in which "Pop" makes fun of and teases his son about the artifacts, music, and personal dress of the "soul movement".

A second function of comedy and humor is the opposite of the first;

it is the purpose of humor or comedy to upset the status quo by ridiculing the honored aspects of society such as certain institutions, mores, laws, etc. Portrayed on the new "Dick Van Dyke" program were scenes displaying a grandmother on "pot". Inadvertently, she had acquired several joints of marijuana and was arrested while driving "under the influence". In addition to the law on marijuana being ridiculed, the procedures of the policemen in the booking and preliminary detention process were "made fun" of when they arrested the grandmother. Mendelsohn (1966) indicates that such ridiculing scenes display "...that the giants have feet of clay, that the power system is not impervious to ridicule and, perhaps, to change" (81).

Finally, comedies allow bringing to the conscious level under socially approved conditions a wide variety of tabooed feeling and topics. This way one could deal with sexual matters or topics dealing with religion without fear of repercussions. "All in the Family" recurrently portrays conflicts between the newly married daughter and her husband with his father-in-law. In the program in the sample, issues were being made and questions were raised concerning the son-in-law's pre-marital activities with girls other than his wife. Such topics are usually not discussed with in-laws. One other light situation comedy dealt with a topic that is usually not discussed - inter-religious marriages. CBS's "Bridget Loves Bernie" portrays a Roman Catholic girl married to a Jew. Various references throughout the program were made about this extremely unusual religious combination. Nevertheless, the couple is portrayed as being very happily married; even the families of orientation get along pretty good. Jewish groups pri-

marily have objected to the program because it "...centers mostly on the ...treatment of interfaith marriage as desirable" (The State, 1973). The Rabbinical Alliance of America charged that "religion is not a joke or a nonsensical anachronism or a subject for satire which this series attempts to make of it". Furthermore, a national organization of Orthodox Jewish Rabbies have called "Bridget Loves Bernie" "...a flagrant insult and act of disrespect to Orthodox Judaism and...most Orthodox Jews" (The Lutheran, 1973). Yet not "Bridget Loves Bernie" nor any other program sampled displayed one religious act on the part of the husband-father or wife-mother.

The prestige drama dealt with an artificial insemination that had not only legal repercussions for the physician involved, but also created considerable marital and social problems for the wife. The tenor of the program was serious and reserved with the notable absence of laughter. It would appear to this writer that this program would demand a lot of attention and interest on the part of the viewer. This type of program does receive more attention and might have more potential influence as a socialization agent.

The movies utilized two primary tones in presenting their material. "The Thrill of it All" and "Never Too Late" utilized a comedy approach to address respectively the topics of a working wife who should stay home (according to her husband) and a couple expecting a baby late in the child-bearing years. Although both created serious intra-conjugal unit problems, they were extremely funny in the way the content was presented. This use of humor and comedy allows for an attack on the status quo in a non-threatening way. One movie criticized, depending on one's point of view, either the wife working even though she didn't need to or the husband for getting

upset about his wife working. Regarding the arrival of a baby rather late in life, the movie could be understood to be critical of the cultural expectations and norms that couples should have children regardless of the wife's age. Although the content of this movie could be thought of as exposing the hypocrisy of many couples who have a menopause baby, they appeared openly enthusiastic about the new addition, but inwardly are quite upset. Abortion as an alternative was not mentioned.

The third movie was devoid of humor or comedy. The tenor of the movie was rather straight forward and lack-lustre. In fact, it was almost monotonous. "The Diary of a Mad Housewife" would appear to this writer to appeal only to those women who were very interested in women's liberation. Perhaps some viewers would see it as an indirect, satirical attack on male superiority.

The program types had general overall themes that separately or as a whole have educational and functional consequences for the television viewer as well as society in general. This conclusion is not altered by the fictional or non-fictional nature of the programs because the most important variable is the perception of the viewer, which is extremely difficult to capture scientifically. "If the fictionalized drama programs are perceived to have some reality, the content, the symbols, the interactions, and the overall messages may not be discounted or dismissed as they might be in a program that is perceived as just another program" (Television and Growing Up, 1972:60). The following discussion concerns the educational or learning as well as other functions of the subject-matter for the individual as a member of a conjugal unit.

The Implications of Televised Role Behaviors for the Conjugal Unit

Whereas the previous discussion centered on the general themes of the programs analyzed, the focus now moves to a discussion of specific role behaviors displayed by the television incumbents of the status-roles of husband-father and wife-mother. These role behaviors reflect interaction between the husband and wife as well as each of these incumbents with their children. It is these patterns of interaction that are important for the viewer as he interacts as either a husband or wife, father or mother.

Not only do people learn marital and familial role expectations from their families of orientation, they can also acquire patterns from mass media including television. Television may serve as a source for additional and/or different contemporary values and norms. If television presents such fare, what then are the learning possibilities as well as the implications for the viewer as these pertain to contemporary marital and familial interaction?

The following discussion of the impact of the role behavior models as portrayed in the sample programs is derived from the data contained in Tables 18 through 23 of Appendix A. The frequencies of the acts displayed there serve as the source of the various statements made by this writer. In some cases, these data are reproduced in the text to highlight a point. In others, they are only alluded to in a general fashion.

In general, the role expectations and behaviors displayed do not lend themselves easily to a bipolar typology with the husband always doing "his thing" and the wife hers. These role behaviors cannot be easily classified as either instrumental or expressive with the husband being restricted to

the former and the wife the latter. In various situations, each spouse displayed some behavior that would be more typical of the other's duties if one were to dichotomize role expectations strictly. The only way that the role behaviors, as portrayed in the sample programs, could possibly be dichotomized into instrumental or expressive would be to state that it was primarily the male who made the connection between the neolocal conjugal unit and the outside economic world (instrumental) via his occupational duties. The most often displayed occupation for the wife was homemaking; this could be interpreted as the expressive role. However, not all of the wife's role behaviors in the home are expressive nor are all of the husband's limited to connections with the "outside" world. Therefore, it must be concluded that the role expectations and behaviors as displayed on television are not indicative of dichotomous role patterns.

For the not-yet-married viewers, the general picture of the interaction between the spouses portrays love and happiness. Although interpersonal difficulties were presented, they were not as frequent nor did they saturate the recording unit as much as behaviors more typical of a harmonious smoothly-working unit. Table 4 displays the frequencies of three marital and familial acts that are assumed to be typical of marriages in which both spouses are happy with each other as well as the marriage.

Table 4

Frequencies of affectionate acts in husband-wife interaction

| <u>Affectionate Acts</u> | <u>Husband to wife</u> | <u>Wife to Husband</u> |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Concern | 12 | 12 |
| Display of Verbal Affection | 80 | 78 |
| Display of Physical Affection | <u>81</u> | <u>63</u> |
| Total | 173 | 153 |

As the table indicates, the husband displayed more affectionate acts than did the wife. Furthermore, these frequencies indicate that the husband initiated more such acts than did the wife. Acts classified as ones displaying "concern" were those where the spouse registered in interrogative terms his personal concern or worry over the other's well being. Such would be the case when one would be injured or ill. Usage of affectionate symbols such as "dear" "darling" and "honey" by an incumbent were classified as acts displaying "verbal affection". Displays of physical affection include expressive acts such as hugging, kissing, and caressing of one's spouse. Physical affection would also include coital acts, but, of course, none were portrayed.

Males in our society are generally socialized not to display their emotions, not to act affectionately especially in public, but rather display their "masculinity" in a reserved and non-emotional manner. Husbands on television display behaviors in opposition to this cultural expectation. These displayed acts took place between married couples and, therefore, serve to socialize the non-married viewer to both display and expect these.

behaviors vis-a-vis his spouse. However, to expect one's spouse to do the same in public might create inter-personal problems. These behaviors, too, are generally supportive of the earlier noted cultural configuration that the institution of marriage and family in the United States is a focal point of personal happiness.

Similar statements can be made about the displayed acts of the husband-father and wife-mother toward their children. Table 5 displays the frequencies of these same affectionate acts toward the children.

Table 5
Frequencies of affectionate acts toward children

| <u>Affectionate Acts</u> | <u>Father to Son</u> | <u>Father to Daughter</u> | <u>Mother to Son</u> | <u>Mother to Daughter</u> |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|
| Concern | 7 | 3 | 5 | 4 |
| Display of Verbal Affection | 3 | 8 | 9 | 6 |
| Display of Physical Affection | <u>9</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>13</u> | <u>11</u> |
| Total | 19 | 20 | 27 | 21 |

Although the frequencies are not as great (there were, overall, far less scenes involving children than husband and wife), the father as well as the mother is portrayed as displaying affectionate behaviors. In terms of the instrumental-expressive (husband-wife) dichotomy, the affectionate acts portrayed are not the exclusive characteristics of one or the other spouse. The husband, as well as the wife, is displaying expressive acts within the family unit.

Regarding anticipatory socialization, these affectionate acts could

teach the viewer (male or female) that such displays of affection are things that one's spouse should do. These may become defined as role expectations for one's spouse. When the spouse displays such role behaviors all is fine; when he does not, their absence could become a point of irritation. The degree to which the absence could create discord could be affected by examples of similar behavior in one's family of orientation. If a male's father and mother were openly affectionate toward each other he, too, would more likely be toward his spouse. His parents' behaviors, then, would be reinforced by television's portrayals. If his parents were not outwardly affectionate, the effect of such presentations by television programs could be interpreted and cognitively processed or mapped in one of several ways. For example, if the viewer perceived the program to be fictional, especially those that have a humorous tone to them, the behaviors displayed may be cognitively mapped as unreal and not acquired let alone adopted or accepted. In other words, the viewer would not utilize nor personally accept these behaviors as a model.

The same behaviors displayed on dramatic programs, such as the soap operas, would more likely be perceived typical of the real world. One might include these acts as role models both in terms of cognitively acquiring as well as accepting them as guidelines for personal interactions. Therefore, not only could the viewer reproduce these acts (acquire) but would utilize them (accept) in similar situations should they arise.

It was the husband-father, however, who was portrayed as being the chief disciplinarian. For every verbal reprimand or disciplinary action taken on the part of the mother, there was almost one and two-thirds taken

by the father. The only disciplinary acts taken by a parent toward a child that could be classified as violent (threatened or actual use of force) were done on one occasion by the mother to one son and one daughter. These violent acts were two spankings and one slap; as noted earlier there was a total absence of acts displaying child abuse or neglect.

For the viewer who is not married or a parent, these role behaviors define the familial setting as being basically conflict-free, with the use of force or violence on the part of parents toward their children being extremely rare. The absence of conflict between parents and children is supportive of the myth (so says LeMasters, 1970) that children and child rearing are fun. Furthermore, the displayed uses of predominately verbal discipline could become accepted role expectations for one's future spouse. The advent of children for many couples is a crisis situation (LeMasters, 1957). The couple, having been socialized that the presence of children reinforces and maintains the on-going harmony of the marital situation, is lost for appropriate role behaviors when their patience wears thin; they're exhausted from lack of sleep; the husband is upset with his wife because she spends more time and energy on the child than on him, financial concerns increase, social life decreases, etc. Not only did television's portrayals of marital and familial life fail to depict these "joys" altogether, what they did present either fails to apply to early stages of child care or provide assistance for parents with older children who find it extremely taxing not to use corporal punishment in disciplining children. The display of the incessant trying of parents' patience by a child was totally absent in the programs analyzed. So, too, were acts that showed

parents at the "end of their ropes". If the surprisingly high statistics on child abuse are valid (Gil, 1971; Goode, 1971), then television is remiss in not displaying more appropriate behavior patterns to deal with parent-child conflict, assuming that society frowns upon severe violence directed toward children.

Not only does the omission of serious parent-child conflict have repercussions for these interactions, it can also contribute to marital conflict. A viewer may (having acquired and accepted marital and familial roles from television) find that after the children arrive, his spouse displays role behaviors that are incongruent and conflict with his. The husband, according to his wife, is much too quick to revert to violence in dealing with the children. The husband may only be displaying behaviors that he feels are appropriate for him as a father to do. These reflect proper expectations and behaviors that he sees for himself as the incumbent of the status "father". Such expectations may have been derived from his family of orientation where his father (of lower socio-economic status) often used violence against his children. His wife, on the other hand, being from a middle-class family, frowns upon the use of violence. In addition to the absence of violence in her family of orientation, her perceptions of the appropriate behaviors of her husband as father to their children were reinforced by television's portrayals of what fathers do in disciplining their children. Such areas of interpersonal conflict are not amenable to pre-marital discussions of marital role duties and expectations. Not only are such discussions softened by the romance of the moment, one does not actually know how he will react in a situation

until he is faced with it. This is most certainly true for parenthood.

Relatively few acts dealt with any financial concerns in the conjugal unit. There were a few more acts displayed by the husband than the wife regarding financial concerns. Specifically, the majority of these recorded acts came from one movie "Never Too Late" in which a wife (in her late forties) was again pregnant. The husband was upset, as well as the wife, concerning money for a new nursery, furniture, diapers, etc. With this noted exception, most of the other recorded scenes noted no concerns with family income. The lack of such acts could be perceived by some viewers as meaning that money is not a problem in marriage. Never displaying a couple's attempts to make ends meet or an argument over what should be purchased is a serious omission. For many couples the allocation of financial resources is a very difficult task. Furthermore, this omission may further support the cultural configuration that the marital situation is conflict free even with regards to money. Even the children in the television families were protected from knowledge of financial concerns with only two acts displaying parental concern with budgetary matters.

The husbands in the sample were presented as frequently taking their wives out to dinner. This was the primary recreational activity that they initiated. On two occasions, a wife initiated a pool game with her husband. In both sets of pool scenes, the incumbents were portrayed as having a good time and enjoying each other's company. No scenes depicted a couple just watching television, a very popular source of entertainment. All the couple's recreational pursuits were more interesting and exciting. This

would appear to be atypical for the majority of American viewers. Absent also for those couples with children were any problems with getting babysitters. These everyday problems of parenthood were not presented. Such omissions tend to define in still another way the lack of problems in the American family.

Supportive of the "problem free" theme of many of the subject-matter programs were those acts on the part of parents initiating recreational activities with the children. For example, fathers were portrayed as flying model airplanes with their sons and playing scrabble with their daughters. Mothers played baseball with their sons and knitted or crocheted with their daughters. Parents, furthermore, were portrayed as assisting their children with various problems ranging from homework through financial indebtedness. On several occasions children were praised by their parents. Friendly and courteous discussions about adolescent concerns, personal problems, dates, or school matters were frequently presented as taking place between parents and children. Few acts displayed parental disgust with the presence of children. Most of the parents were portrayed to be happy with having children. Parents, according to television, never get "fed up" with having children around.

Television may define the family setting as one in which the children are participants, members who actively take part causing little or no difficulties. The behaviors of the parents toward the children support this impression. The type of socialization process utilized by the parents in the programs analyzed, could be called "participatory socialization". Such a socialization process views the child as an active participant in

the family unit. Rather than the children being satellites of the marital unit, they are more of a core. The children are taught via rewards rather than punishment; in the ideal model corporal punishment is absent. Such a socialization process is more typical of the middle than lower-class families. The lower-class families generally use more corporal punishment emphasizing child obedience and acquiescence rather than participation (Broom and Selznick, 1963:373). This model (repressive socialization model) was absent in the scenes analyzed.

The presentation of acts emphasizing the participatory socialization process could have several repercussions. For the lower-class viewer, they could serve as an ideal model for parental actions toward their children. The success rate, this writer expects, would be low. For many parents such acts would be dysfunctional in interaction with their children. For the middle-class viewer who, to some extent, has tried to be more of a friend than a parent, he might try even harder. Perhaps he might specifically try some of the parental acts displayed. They always work on television; to the degree that one perceives television portrayals to be real, the viewer may continue to follow these parental role models. After all, one never has the opportunity to play parent for even a few days; it is a full-time job. But how much preparation does one have for this most demanding occupation? None! Therefore, a viewer, who has enlisted or has been drafted into this responsibility, may be actively seeking advice from any available source. Television is a very prolific media when it comes to portraying acts that are meaningful to a substantial number of viewers; many parental acts are portrayed daily.

Predominately the marital and familial acts stressed inter-personal harmony within the family unit. However, there were scenes depicting disagreements between the spouses. The husband and wife initiated about the same number of arguments. These disagreements generally were of two broad types: those disagreements of an interpersonal and marital nature and those pertaining to actions or activities outside of the nuclear unit.

Examples of interpersonal disagreements would include the wife's dislike about her husband going out all the time leaving her alone with the children, or her general disgust with their way of life, for which the husband was responsible. Some wives were arguing with their husbands over the importance of other pre-marital girl friends. None of these got beyond a very superficial level which might include, for example, discussions of pre-marital relations. Others centered on the wife working outside the home with the husband claiming she should stay home, the divorced wife displaying anger over her daughter's illness apparently not considered serious by the father, or the wife who was upset about her husband not taking her out to dinner.

Two of the more serious inter-spouse conflicts dealt with issues that would appear to be more detrimental in terms of the impact on one's sense of "self". One argument found the wife calling the husband "childish" for his expressed distaste for taking out the garbage and his retort calling her "immature" for getting so upset. These adjectives could have a negative effect on one's sense of self especially since they came from persons considered important to the other. Quickly this couple apologized and went to "bed".

The other argument was between a separated couple in which the wife was all upset about the qualifications and especially the beauty of the son's new governess. The father insisted, in front of the child, that the mother leave, since the child resided with his father. Such scenes place the child in the middle being forced to side with one against the other.

The child as a victim of the divorce was hereby portrayed. To many viewers such scenes demonstrate the undesirability of divorce, especially if there are children involved. However, in the same serial, the husband was displaying more than employer-employee type interest in the new governess who got along very well with the child. There was a "hint" of a possible remarriage for both the governess and her employer which would be supportive of the "remarriage" theme discussed earlier.

In general, the other arguments between the husband and wife concerned friends outside the conjugal relationship and, therefore, are assumed not to have the same potential for deleterious effects on the couple. Such arguments included the happiness state of a friend's marriage, a defense of a wife's friend's activities, the wife's arguments with her physician, and an old-time friend who has come to visit.

There were, of course, arguments about the in-laws. However, these did not lead to any severe split within the conjugal unit. After all, in-law jokes (especially mother-in-law) are indicative of the American emphasis on separate residential facilities away from other family ties.

The acts categorized as "complaints about spouse" were differentiated from arguments in that these complaints were made to one's spouse in front of outsiders. In addition, these also refer to distastes that one spouse

communicated to the other personally. Such acts included the husband complaining about his wife not getting his lunches on time but her insisting that he take out the garbage promptly. Furthermore, he complained about having to give up the night with the boys after marriage because his wife "insisted". Other husbands complained about their wives' bickering and pestering them to do various things. One husband complained about his wife sleeping too much, her too straight hair, her smoking too much and her lousy cooking.

Wives complained about husbands discussing former girl friends, not dancing with them in public, criticizing them in front of their children, for agreeing with husband's friend instead of his wife, and not pushing enough at the office.

It is difficult to state conclusively that any or all of the above complaint topics would be deleterious to the future happiness of the couple or to the continuation of the marriage. Such conclusions would warrant further longitudinal analysis to determine whether or not these were new additive areas of complaints or recurring topics. New areas of conflict created by television portrayals of husbands and wives could be detrimental to the continuation of a given conjugal unit.

Regardless of whether or not the disagreement categories of "arguments" or "complaints" are of primary concern, both the husband as well as the wife were displayed as initiating requests for forgiveness or apologies for what they said or did. The data do not demonstrate how many complaints or arguments were resolved by an apology; more than one could be solved by one apology. The more important role expectation and behavior to be

learned is that both spouses do apologize to each other.

Not all conflicts were resolved by harmony-producing apologies. Television husbands and wives each displayed two acts each of leaving their spouse. In one case the husband stormed out of the house rather disgusted with his wife. It was not displayed in the sample program recorded whether or not he returned. One husband who had admitted having an adulterous affair was portrayed as returning to the neolocal unit. His wife in two separate scenes refused any physical contact with him. His pleading for forgiveness did no good. These were the strongest rebuttals or negative acts displayed by any wife toward her husband in all the recorded scenes. No violent acts were threatened or portrayed by the wife toward her husband. Although there were no physical acts of violence demonstrated, two scenes displayed a threat of force by the husband toward the wife should she continue to disagree and not do what he wished. Noticeably absent were any severely violent scenes such as those that might climax in personal injury or death. It is commonly known that most assaults and homicides occur between people that know each other and that such acts often occur in the home.

The general absence of severe marital conflict, plus the repetitive presentation of acts resolving the mild conflict presented in the subject-matter programs, defines inter-spouse relations as being basically harmonious. Should a conflict exist, according to television's portrayals, it can be generally alleviated by reserved and apologetic behaviors.

The often-repeated theme of harmonious interactions between the marital partners was reinforced by the frequency of acts that portrayed

the husband and wife having affable discussions about a wide variety of topics. On many occasions, the discussions centered upon their children's concerns or problems. Some couples were concerned about the marital happiness of their children. Other scenes depicted the parents discussing how to get their divorced child remarried. Trips, business activities, neighborhood gossip, the latest pregnancy, the latest news of marriages, engagements, and somebody's illness were frequent topics of pleasant conjugal discussions. Such acts again display conflict-free, harmonious acts between the husband and wife. The same theme was portrayed when the parents discussed in a pleasant manner various issues or problems with the children. Such acts between the parents and their children reinforce the cultural expectation that parents care for their children and want to be involved with their problems.

These spouses also displayed acts that were supportive of each other. The husband and wife complimented each other for various things done. The parents also complimented their children for successful accomplishments. Such acts are not only indicative of the participatory socialization model, but are reflective of cultural values emphasizing achievement, success, and the rewards of hard work.

It is not possible to state unequivocally how a particular viewer would perceive the various roles portrayed. The above discussion reflects the analysis of only one investigator-viewer. Others might see the same content differently and formulate other conclusions or functions for the televised role behaviors. This reiterates the importance of the viewer as an interpreting agent, rather than just a responding being. Because of

this interpretative process and the fact that this research project dealt primarily with televised messages, it is not possible to specifically state causes and effects for the viewers.

The following unit discusses the realism of the televised marital and familial role behaviors. This is done by using Hurvitz's (1961) sample of middle-class role behaviors as one set of criteria by which television's presentations can be evaluated.

The Realism of the Televised Role Behaviors

How realistic are the marital and familial role behaviors on television? To what degree do they coincide with the real world of the television viewer?

The question of realism or isomorphy between the world of the viewer and television portrayals is extremely important in light of the dual assumption that television can influence behavior and that this has functional importance for both society as well as the conjugal unit. The importance of this question is heightened when one considers that some viewers specifically watch and learn from specific types of television programs. It was also indicated that some viewers find some television programs realistic (LoSciuto, 1971). It was not within the research project's goal to investigate the matter of the effects of marital and familial role behaviors on viewers. However, the question of realism is extremely important should such an investigation be undertaken.

The isomorphy of the televised role behaviors with the real world of the viewer will be discussed by using a middle-class sample's inventory of

role behaviors. Hurvitz (1961) investigated the role sets (behaviors) of middle-class spouses not only to determine what specific behaviors were displayed, but also to investigate these behaviors as aspects of a socialization process. These purposes coincide with those of this investigation.

The televised roles as extracted from the sampled television programs will be compared to Hurvitz's sample in two ways. The role behaviors of the television sample as compared to Hurvitz's role sets will be compared for the purpose of discerning the amount of reality they portray. Secondly, the impact or the possible effects of these televised role behaviors will be discussed as very important components of the marital and familial socialization process. This discussion will be the core of the final chapter which deals with hypotheses and suggestions for future research.

The husband's roles according to Hurvitz's sample (underlined) include his doing his jobs around the house. This refers to yard work, various repairs, other masculine household chores, and the display of a general interest in making the house pleasant to live in. Such acts were almost totally absent from the television sample's role behaviors. There was only one act in which the television husband took out the garbage because his wife asked him. The more routine daily household responsibilities of middle-class males are absent from the role behaviors of television husbands. They are portrayed as having no household duties or responsibilities.

The husband is a companion to his wife, sharing his leisure time with her, rather than with children or friends, displaying an interest in what she is doing, refraining from abuse or ridicule of her, seeking to help

her fulfill herself, and viewing her as a confidante with whom he can discuss various matters. The televised role behaviors dovetail with these middle-class expectations. Television husbands display an interest in the wife's activities, they express their concern for their wives' well being, verbal and physical affection are part of their role behaviors, and they participate in recreational activities with their spouses. Although the television husbands do complain about their wives, they also apologize in many instances. Furthermore, television husbands assisted, complimented, comforted, and discussed various items with their spouses. Hurvitz's role sets do not include any violent behavior on the part of middle-class husbands; they refrain from abuse or ridicule of their wife. The television husbands did display two acts that were classified as "violent" because of the broad definition of the term. Other than the noted exception, television's role behaviors for husbands are isomorphic with Hurvitz's sample and to that degree realistic.

The middle-class husband assists the children in their development by being their friend, teacher, and guide. This involves leisure-time activities, helping with school work, peer problems, etc. He uses punishment understandingly and disciplines in relationship to the situation, avoiding abuse of the children. Television fathers do likewise. They recreate with their children, take care of children, display verbal and physical affection toward them, take an interest in their activities, and display concern for their well being.

The middle-class husband earns the living and supports the family. The husbands on television likewise are the primary breadwinners.

Husbands do their wife's work around the house if his help is needed. Such times would be when the wife was ill or required by special circumstances. Similar acts were not displayed by television husbands.

The display and practice of the family religion is typical of middle-class husbands. Religious acts were totally absent from the role behaviors of television husbands.

The middle-class husband is a sexual partner to his wife. He gains as well as gives sexual satisfaction with his wife, not showing sexual interest in other women. Other than kissing, there were no acts typifying sexual interaction between spouses in the television sample. The television husbands did, however, display tender attention and interest by verbal and physical affection as is expected of middle-class husbands. Contrary to middle-class expectations, there were displays of extra-marital affairs by some television husbands. These were implied to be sexual in nature, but were, of course, not displayed. In this one area, television husbands are displaying behaviors that are not totally consistent with middle-class norms.

If the family is still divided after discussing something, the middle-class husband decides. The husband is recognized and referred to by his wife as the decision-maker, casting the "tie-breaking vote" when needed. Televised behaviors on this matter do not show the husband to be patriarchal but more equalitarian, sharing the decision-making with his spouse. It would appear that the middle-class husband is also not a patriarch; therefore, television husbands are similar in this respect.

Managing the family income and finances is the responsibility of the

husband. Bringing home the money, planning for its use, subordinating his immediate needs for the long range goals of the family, and developing plans for future family security are also his duties. Husbands on television display more concern over financial matters than do wives. Other than in this way, television husbands' duties as a money manager are neglected.

Finally, the middle-class husband represents and advances his family in the community. In this area the husband wants the family to "get ahead" and avoid dependence on others. The husband holds attitudes and values consistent with community standards. By omission of acts to the contrary, television husbands are consistent with middle-class norms. By inference only can one state that television husbands depict similar behavior. It can be observed from the table that many middle-class husbands' role behaviors are displayed on television. There are some important notable exceptions as indicated. Because of the isomorphy of the two sets of roles, it can be stated that television husbands do display behaviors that are typical of middle-class husbands. It is not possible to determine at this time how "real" any particular act is for any given viewer. It is possible that the notable exceptions to Hurvitz's sample are "real" to some male viewers and are part of their marital role sets. The social history of the viewer, his unique set of predispositions, and his group setting will affect his perception and interpretation of the behaviors of the television husbands. Therefore, the effects of these portrayals remain hypothetical at this time. Table 6 summarizes the behaviors of middle-class husbands as well as those of television husbands.

Table 6

Middle-class husbands' role behaviors as compared to
television husbands' role behaviors

| <u>MIDDLE-CLASS HUSBANDS</u> | <u>TELEVISION HUSBANDS</u> |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Does Household Jobs | Refrain from doing household tasks |
| Companion to Wife | Companion to Wife |
| Assists Children's Development | Assist Children's Development |
| Earns Living | Earn Living |
| Does Wife's Work | Do NOT do Wife's Work |
| Displays Family Religion | Do NOT display Family Religion |
| Sexual Partner to Wife | Are NOT sexual partner |
| Decision-Maker | Equalitarian Decision-Maker |
| Manages Family Income | Manage Family Income |
| Advances Family in Community | Advance Family in Community |
| | Complain about Spouse |
| | Few violent acts |
| | Few extra-marital acts |
| | Display Jealousy |
| | Leave Spouse |
| | Argue with Spouse |

The realism of the television wives' role behaviors can be likewise investigated. Middle-class wives help earn the living when her husband needs her help or when the family needs more money. They accept the job of breadwinner temporarily in cases of illness or husband's incapacitation. Such was not the case with television wives. There were portrayals of working wives, but in none was it apparent that she had to work to assist her husband. Divorced or widowed females were, of course, working because they needed to. Television wives who were working were doing so because they wanted to and not because of extenuating circumstances. There were also no indications that any of the working wives wanted to become the primary breadwinner of the family.

Middle-class wives also display the family religion, giving the chil-

dren an understanding of the family's religious identification. Television wives do not display such acts.

Caring for the childrens' everyday needs includes the responsibility for daily needs such as clothing, feeding, transportation, supervision of play activities, etc. Television wives/mothers do likewise. However, mother-child interaction on television is much less frequent than this writer believes takes place in the real world. By omission of this interaction television does not emphasize the reality of parent-child interaction. The daily routines and often monotonous duties of motherhood are often not televised. In this way, the wife/mother incumbents do not portray a realistic total picture of the middle-class wife as homemaker.

The middle-class wife is also to be a sexual partner to her husband giving as well as gaining sexual satisfaction with him. She is not interested in sexual relations with other men, nor does she use the sexual relationship to manipulate her husband. She desires to hold her husband's sexual interest. All of the television wives displayed behaviors consonant with these expectations. However, as was true for television husbands, a small minority of television wives also displayed extra-marital affairs limited to kissing with implied further sexual involvements. Television wives depicted no more sexual involvement than kissing even with their husbands. A corollary of this set of expectations, middle-class wives as well as television wives displayed an interest in having children with her husband. Television wives are in agreement with and supportive of the middle-class wives' desire for children.

Serving as a model of women for the children entails being also a

model of what a wife and mother is to be. She is well organized, refraining from deviant behavior such as alcoholism, criminality, etc. She accepts a limited range of extra-familial duties and responsibilities, believing it to be more important to spend most of her time within the family unit. Also she believes it to be more desirable to be married and rear a family than not. Television wives display acts consonant with these expectations.

Middle-class wives are to help the children grow by being their friend, teacher, and guide by participating in their world, by spending leisure-time together, assisting with school work, etc. Also they are to use punishment understandingly, refraining from abuse and ridicule of the children. Television mothers display verbal and physical affection to their children, display concern, recreate with their children, comfort and assist them, as well as discussing with their children a wide range of items. Television mothers generally discipline in accordance with middle-class expectations. There were three violent acts perpetrated by television mothers toward their children; but, again, the definition of violence is quite broad so as to include spankings, slaps, and threats of corporal punishment.

Middle-class husbands have a companion in their wife. She shares her activities, free time, and thoughts with him. She demonstrates an interest in his occupation, his problems, etc. Abuse and ridicule of her husband are atypical of middle-class wives. Television wives behave in similar fashion. They express concern for their husbands, they display verbal and physical affection, and they joke and tease their spouse. Although television wives also complain about their husbands, they, too, apologize for

these statements. They also refrain from abuse and ridicule.

Television wives display concern for the management of the family income and finances. These behaviors are expected according to the Hurvitz sample.

Finally, the middle-class wife decides when the family is still divided after discussing something. Although this sounds identical to the role behavior of middle-class husbands, and how can there be two final decision-makers, Hurvitz notes that the middle-class wife "...is recognized, acknowledged, and deferred to by her husband and children as the decision-maker about family affairs" (1971:178). Television wives are portrayed as being equal to their husband in making decisions. However, the role set of Hurvitz's sample is almost identical (with the use of "deferred" instead of "referred") to that of the middle-class husband, though this writer has reservations as to the accuracy of the clerical reporting of the findings (the substitution of an "r" makes the reading identical to that of the husband). Nevertheless, assuming no typographical errors, two answers are possible. On the one hand, the middle-class wife may actually be the decision-maker in the family, or the husband and wife have their own areas of decision-making with the family decisions falling within the wife's domain of responsibility. As noted previously, television families decide issues in an equalitarian manner. Wives as well as husbands have an equal voice on television. Each make decisions for and which affect the other spouse.

Table 7

Middle-class wives' role behaviors as
compared to television wives' role behaviors

| <u>MIDDLE-CLASS WIVES</u> | <u>TELEVISION WIVES</u> |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| Help Earn Living if Needed | Work because they want to |
| Display Family Religion | Do NOT Display Family Religion |
| Care for Children's Routine needs | Infrequently care for Children's Routine needs |
| Do household chores | Infrequently do household chores |
| Sexual Partner to Husband | Are NOT Sexual Partners |
| Desire Children | Desire Children |
| Model of Women for Children | Model of Women for Children |
| Assist Development of Children | Assist Development of Children |
| Companion to Husband | Companion to Husband |
| Assist in managing Family Income | Assist in managing Family Income |
| Decision-Maker | Decision-Maker |
| | Complain about Husband |
| | Display few Violent acts |
| | Display few Extra-marital acts |
| | Display Jealousy |
| | Leave Spouse |
| | Argue with Spouse |

As was true for television husbands, television wives display role behaviors that are generally consonant with middle-class expectations. With the noted exceptions, television wives are behaving according to middle-class norms.

In summarizing the impact of televised role behaviors, it is vital to reiterate that although the television programs sampled are fictional in nature, their content may be perceived to be real by many viewers. This is emphasized by the similarity of role behaviors as evidenced by the Hurvitz middle-class sample's role behaviors and those of the television husbands and wives. Marital and familial role behaviors on television appear to have a basis in reality; isomorphy between television and reality

exists. The importance of this agreement of the role behaviors for the viewer as well as society remains, as yet, unresearched.

As noted in figure 6, content analyses deal primarily with communication "messages". The messages of interest in this project were marital and familial roles as depicted by television. Furthermore, it has been postulated that a television viewer can acquire and adopt behaviors portrayed in television "messages" even though one may think he is only being entertained.

The subject-matter (marital and familial interaction) on television contains several "messages" of which specific role behaviors are only one aspect. Other messages concern the general themes or topics of the programs relevant to the institution of marriage and family. The broadcast themes surrounding the institution of marriage and family were supportive of and consistent with social expectations. At the societal level, the themes emphasized the preference of being married, and the conjugal, neolocal, and equalitarian nature of the marital unit. The unit should contain a division of labor with the husband being the primary breadwinner and the wife restricted to the home. The programs did not present themes such as abortion, prostitution, revolutionary sexual mores, racial miscegenation, etc. which would be in direct contradiction to society's norms. The programs were generally traditional and conservative. Only on rare occasions were "radical" themes or topics presented. An example would be artificial insemination.

For the individual viewing the programs, television may, in addition to being a socialization agent, be perceived as an advisor or counselor

giving solutions to marital problems. The marital roles portrayed emphasized affection between the spouses, companionship, parental joy with children, harmony, the absence of conflict, and the lack of problems for those people who are happily married. Such televised role behaviors serve not only an anticipatory socializing function, but may offer suggestions for remedial action in one's own marriage.

As evidenced by the comparison of the behaviors of television spouses with those behaviors of a middle-class sample (Hurvitz, 1971), many marital and familial role behaviors on television have a counterpart in reality. Although the actors are fictional, viewers may be able to identify with them because of the realism of the behaviors televised. Occupants of the marital and familial statuses-roles on television display middle-class marital behaviors in that they are companions to each other as well as models of behaviors for their children. Television spouses assist, comfort, and display affection for one another. The husband is the primary breadwinner; the wife's place is in the home. Husbands and wives on television want and enjoy children.

There were, of course, omissions in the television fare that are typical of middle-class spouses. Included here would be displays of sexual affection or relations, household chores, and family religious activities.

Television spouses displayed behaviors not mentioned by the middle-class sample. Examples would include some extra-marital activities, complaints about spouse, acts of violence against children, jealousy, etc. Infrequent though they were, they were nevertheless broadcast. It is safe to assume that to many television viewers, such behaviors are not atypical.

Such was the nature of marital and familial interaction in a week's sample of television programs. Other researchers may utilize the above materials in both their teaching and research endeavors. These television "messages" may serve a generating function for many research possibilities. Some are outlined in the next chapter.

The Summary

Since comparatively little is known about the content of television as well as its effects, this is an important area of concern for all social scientists. Sociologists have a wide variety of interesting areas for potential research in this medium. The area of interest for this writer was television's depictions of marital and familial life. Television husbands and wives portray certain themes and display certain behaviors. Yet little specifically is known about these items. This research project investigated such presentations on television.

The theoretical basis of this investigation was a combination of the functional and the cultural norms theory of mass communication. Succinctly, the functional theory explains the pervasiveness and ubiquity of the mass media as being indicative of the functions or consequences they have for society. Mass media assist in perpetuating and maintaining the on-going society through the functions of surveillance, correlation, cultural transmission, status conferral, and others. Also the media provide a respite for the masses, i.e., an entertainment function. All of these preceding functions, as well as those not again reviewed here, could be categorized under the general function of socio-cultural integration. All of these

work together in a combination of ways to keep society going.

The cultural norms theory explains that the user of mass media may "learn" by having social phenomena "defined" for him in certain structured ways. In this way the media influence conduct by providing a "definition of the situation" which the user may believe to be real. The cultural norms theory postulates that the media can influence norms and definitions of the situation for the viewer by (1) reinforcing existing patterns of behaviors, (2) creating new shared convictions on those topics with which the user has had little experience, and (3) changing existing norms thereby converting people's behavior patterns to another form.

For the purposes of this investigation, television, a very extensive medium in American society, was assumed to have the same functions as the other media. It was further assumed that television has an entertainment function (as do other media). This function coupled that of cultural transmission provides the basis of the assumption that television's entertainment function includes the transmission of cultural content; the viewer while being entertained is being exposed to cultural aspects such as norms, mores, values, etc.

The presentation of the cultural materials in those programs created ostensibly for entertainment defines the situation in certain ways. The themes or topics emitted or omitted, the portrayed interactions, the socio-economic statuses of the actors, the television settings, vocal tones, lighting tones, and many others all affect the definition of the situation as broadcast by television. Here, also, the postulates of the cultural norms theory are important. The broadcast materials may be perceived by

the viewer as real; not only may the viewer acquire these definitions, he may also adopt them as guidelines or models for his own behavior. In other words, the viewer's behavior may be influenced by exposure to television.

The three postulates of the cultural norms theory emphasize that a mass medium (television) may "teach" the viewer by providing a definition of a situation for the user. This assumption could be reformulated in more "functional" terminology by indicating that providing a definition of the situation is in itself a function, an educational or socialization function. By teaching, educating, or socializing the viewer, television assists in maintaining the on-going society. The cultural norms theory, therefore, also explains why television is so pervasive in our society. It is being used not only as a source of entertainment but also as a "definer" of the real world. In this way, postulates of both the functional and cultural norms theories may be linked in investigating the content, the uses, and the effects of television for the American society. This research project developed an instrument to ascertain both the various acts being portrayed on television as well as means by which these could be enumerated. The major networks were compared on the basis of prevalence, the subject-matter score, the program score, the rates per program, per exclusive minute, and rate per recording unit. Also one can compare types of program, specific programs and even times of day by using these indicators. Furthermore, these indicators are amenable for application to other topics of interest such as television violence.

Television's material and familial role behaviors indicate that all

is generally fine with the institution of marriage and family in American society. Marital and family settings on television are conflict free with husbands and wives enjoying each other as well as their children. Both spouses display affections (verbally and physically) for each other and their children. The presence of children creates no major problems for the couple. Children are active participants in the family, exemplifying the absence of repression on the part of the parent.

The presentations of marital and family roles on television are particularly realistic in that they coincide with the many items on a middle-class inventory of such behavior. Husbands and wives in real life as well as on television are companions to each other. Both serve as exemplary models for their children. An equalitarianism exists with the both spouses being involved in making decisions. Extra-marital affairs are rare. There are areas of differences. Television spouses do not display sexual relationships or religious practices. Middle-class spouses do not complain about their husband or wife; television spouses do. Absent also from television are portrayals of routine household chores on the part of husbands and wives. It is assumed that television viewers can acquire and adopt these behaviors for use in their own lives. By omitting or emitting certain materials, this medium of mass communication can "define the institution of marriage and family" in a particular way. This definition may support present patterns, alter them or inject new ones. Regardless of the way television presents the institution, this definition has functions for the viewer as both a conjugal family member as well as a member of a mass audience who has been exposed repetitively to the same stimuli.

Important to the continuation of any society is a core of norms, values, mores, etc., that support and are exemplified in social institutions.

Television functions as a definer, supporter and behavior model of the marital and familial expectations composing the institution of marriage and family.

CHAPTER VI. THE SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Future research into the effect of television marital and family role behaviors will no doubt test which of these the viewers acquire and accept. The following discussion presents specific theoretical assumptions and subsequently derived hypotheses. In addition, methodological modifications and suggestions are made which could increase the generalizability of research conclusions.

The following summarize the basic assumptions utilized in this project.

1. Social and cultural materials are provided by entertainment programs on television
2. Television viewers acquire and adopt social and cultural materials presented on television
3. Television viewers acquire and adopt social and cultural materials presented in entertainment programs
4. Television may define the situation for the viewer
5. Television defines the situation by reinforcing existing patterns
6. Television defines the situation by creating new shared convictions
7. Television defines the situation by changing existing norms
8. Television serves as a behavioral model

The Hypotheses for Future Research

The focus of this investigation was on the messages or content of a sample of television programs that portrayed contemporary marital and familial interaction. Of primary concern were those "messages" that dis-

played various husband-father and wife-mother status-role behaviors. The nature of these behaviors was previously discussed. However, it is not possible at this time to state with any certainty what effects these displayed role behaviors have for television viewers. The marital and familial role behaviors displayed on television have been discerned, but their effect or impact on the viewer remains uncertain. This has yet to be tested. An empirical test requires hypotheses, theoretical statements whose validity and truth in the real world have not been tested. The following hypotheses are some that could be empirically tested; the research design for such endeavors has yet to be formulated. These hypotheses are arbitrarily restricted to the acquisition and adoption of the role behaviors displayed by the incumbents of the husband-father and wife-mother statuses-roles on television. These hypotheses were generated from the discussion in which the television spouses' behaviors were compared to those of the middle-class sample's behaviors.

Three propositions are listed which serve to indicate the relationships and linkages between the independent and dependent variables. From these, hypotheses have been generated.

PROPOSITION I: People who watch television acquire and adopt televised status-role behaviors or expectations.

HYPOTHESES:

1. If people watch television, then they will acquire more marital and familial role behaviors than non-viewers.
2. If people watch dramatic programs primarily, then they will acquire more marital and familial role behaviors than those people who view non-dramatic programs primarily.

3. Television viewers more than non-viewers prefer marriage as opposed to being single.
4. Television viewers more than non-viewers display middle-class marital and familial behavior patterns.
5. Lower-class television viewers display more middle-class marital and familial role behaviors than lower-class non-viewers.
6. If a lower-class viewer is upwardly mobile then he will display middle-class marital and familial role behaviors.
7. If a lower-class viewer is upwardly mobile, then he will be equalitarian in family decision-making.
8. If a middle-class wife watches serials avidly, then she will not expect her husband to do her household work.
9. If a middle-class wife watches serials avidly, then she will not expect her husband to do the household jobs.
10. If a middle-class husband watches serials avidly, then he will feel less guilty about having an extra-marital affair.
11. If a middle-class husband watches serials avidly, then he will argue more openly with spouse.
12. If a middle-class wife watches serials avidly, then she will be less likely to feel the need to do household chores.
13. Middle-class wives who watch serials avidly are more likely to feel they have a right to work if they want to.
14. Middle-class wives who watch serials avidly are less likely to favor the liberalization of abortion laws than non-viewers.
15. Lower-class wives who watch serials avidly are more likely to feel they have a voice in family money management.
16. Middle-class women who view serials avidly are more likely to desire children than non-viewers.

17. Middle-class women who view serials avidly are more likely to use verbal rather than physical punishment on the children.

PROPOSITION II: Married people who are having marital and familial problems and who want to save their marriage adopt marital and familial role behaviors portrayed on television.

HYPOTHESES:

1. If a middle-class husband watches serials on television, he will be more of a companion to his wife.
2. A couple having financial management problems will allow the husband to manage the money.
3. Equalitarian decision-making will be adopted by troubled couples who watch television.
4. Husbands who watch serials will more likely apologize to their spouse than husbands who do not watch television.
5. Husbands (wives) who watch serials will display more concern and affection to the wives (husbands) than husbands (wives) who do not watch television.
6. Husbands (wives) who watch serials will discuss more with their wives (husbands) than husbands (wives) who do not watch television.
7. Fathers (mothers) who watch serials will do more recreational things with their children than fathers (mothers) who do not watch.

PROPOSITION III: Children who watch television will acquire and adopt middle-class marital and familial role behaviors or expectations.

HYPOTHESES:

1. Children who watch light situation comedies will feel more equalitarian toward their potential spouse than those who do not watch.
2. Boys who watch light situation comedies will feel their future spouse's place is in the home more than non-viewing boys.

3. Girls who watch light situation comedies will feel the mother's place is in the home more than non-viewers.
4. Girls who watch light situation comedies will feel they as wives have a right to work more than girls who are non-viewers.
5. Boys who watch light situation comedies will display more affection to their future spouses than non-viewing boys.
6. Boys who watch light situation comedies will indicate that they, too, have disciplinary obligations to their children more than will non-viewing boys.
7. Girls who watch light situation comedies will rank house work as less important in marital happiness than non-viewing girls.
8. Children with parental conflict and who watch light situation comedies will display less marital maladjustment in their own marriages than will non-viewers with the conflict filled home life.
9. Children who watch light situation comedies are more likely to prefer marriage than those who do not watch.

The preceding hypotheses presently lack operational definitions. The primary reason for this is the unavailability of instruments capable of measuring newly acquired behaviors which are subsequently accepted or adopted as behavioral models. Yet attempts to measure these behaviors must be made.

By showing that two (or more) items vary together provides some support for the conclusion that one is related to the other. A relationship between televised violence and subsequent aggressive behavior indicates that one may be positively related to the other; an increase in one is accompanied by an increase in the other. One could likewise use correlations to investigate exposure to marital and familial behaviors

on television and subsequent marital behavior. However, some major problems exist.

Marital and familial behaviors take place in a closed setting. Outsiders generally do not get the opportunity to view the inner workings of a conjugal unit. Having a third party present would affect the reliability and validity of such a project. Regardless of such problems, one could still investigate the effects of televised role behaviors by the use of a contrived laboratory task for married couples. By using two groups of married couples (one a control, the other the experimental), one could compare task performances. The control groups would not be exposed to televised behaviors. The experimental group could view a married couple who displayed a lot of cooperation, mutual decision-making, etc. A team of evaluators could view both groups' performances on a given task. In this way one could investigate the hypotheses that married couples who view equalitarian marital behaviors on television display more equalitarian behaviors than non-viewers.

The above laboratory experiment would test only the immediate impact of television exposure. The effects of such an exposure may not be readily apparent for a variety of reasons: the task was not seen as realistic, the couples could not identify with the television couple, the laboratory setting was artificial, etc.

A longitudinal study (over time) might discern effects. If one assumes that a given viewer's attitudes or behaviors may be gradually changed by repeated exposure to given stimuli, then one might hypothesize that husbands and wives, who are avid television viewers, may be

slowly altering their marital behaviors. The initial task of such a project would be to decide on one's universe of viewers and sample accordingly. This sample could be asked a variety of questions about what programs they watch as well as attitudes on certain marital items reflecting marital role expectations. These findings would serve as a baseline for the results of a similar repeat of the instrument at a future time. Of course, major problems associated with such a project would involve the impact of unknown variables on the viewers over time. Marital role changes may have been caused by other variables than just television viewing. However, a significant difference between "Time 1" and "Time 2" would be important.

If one assumes that television's marital and familial role behaviors are typically middle-class, one could investigate socio-economic class differences. Two lower socio-economic groups (as measured by a common criterion such as occupation) could be compared on marital role expectations; one would need avid television viewers. A researcher could hypothesize that lower-class viewers are more middle-class in marital role expectations than are lower-class non-viewers. A significant difference between the two groups would lend credence to the proposition that television serves as a marital role model.

Some methodological changes ought to be considered. For example, rather than sampling by a week's programs, one might consider sampling the same programs over time. This technique would be suitable should one be interested in the impact of specific programs. Such a study would be worthwhile since viewers do deliberately choose to view some programs in

preference to others.

The question of how contemporary are televised marital and familial acts would be interesting to explore. Have televised acts changed over time or are television husbands and wives doing the same things today as they did a decade ago? Such a study would no doubt require the assistance of a television network especially in terms of getting video-types of older television programs. Is television setting the pace or lagging behind?

Restricted technical facilities were problems in this particular research project. These problems (limited supply of tapes and only one tape recorder) could be easily rectified with additional VTR's and a large supply of video-tapes. The sampling of all programs (regardless of scheduling conflicts) portraying the subject-matter could be accomplished. This writer could only video-tape one network at a time. Also each tape had to be quickly analyzed and the programs coded so that the tape was clear to record the next day's program. Storage of all the programs to be analyzed was impossible. Problems of deciding which programs to be recorded (by flipping a coin or drawing a number) would also be eliminated by unrestricted equipment.

The use of the "act" in this project necessitated overlooking other items that could also be of great importance. One obvious omission was any enumeration of children's responses to the acts of their parents. No attempt was made to investigate whether or not the children obeyed, were in trouble, rebelled against their parents, etc. Also interactions by the incumbents with other people were not investigated. (They were counted

for purposes of determining rates, but nothing else was done with them.) For example, how did the husband-father react to his child's teacher over a school problem? Was he upset with the teacher or the child? Answers are not discernible with the present instrument. However, such behaviors are important not only for the conjugal unit, but also for the institution of marriage and family as well.

Much more research needs to be done by all social scientists into the matters of not only television content but also the very important questions of the effects or impact of television content on its viewers. Relatively little data presently exists. It is hoped that this project and its findings will serve as a basis for not only debate but also for future television analyses.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adorno, T. W.
 1957 "Television and the patterns of mass culture." In Bernard Rosenberg and David White (eds.), *Mass Culture: The Popular Arts in America*. New York: The Free Press.
- Albrecht, M.
 1956 "Does literature reflect common values?" *American Sociological Review* 21 (December):722-729.
- Aldous, Joan and Reuben Hill
 1965 "Social cohesion, lineage types, and intergenerational transmission." *Social Forces* 43 (May):471-482.
 1969 "Socialization for marriage and parenthood." In David Goslin (ed.), *Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research*. Chicago: Rand McNally and Company.
- Alper, William and Thomas Leidy
 1969 "The impact of information transmission through television." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 33 (Winter):556-562.
- Anders, Gunther
 1957 "The phantom world of T.V." In Bernard Rosenberg and David White (eds.), *Mass Culture: The Popular Arts in America*. New York: The Free Press.
- Appell, Clara T.
 1963 "T.V. viewing and the pre-school child." *Marriage and Family Living* 25 (August):311-318.
- Baker, Robert and Sandra Ball
 1969 *Mass Media Hearings: A Report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence*. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.
- Bandura, A.
 1965 "Modification of self-imposed delay of reward through exposure to live and symbolic models." *Journal of Personality and Social Learning* 2 (Fall):698-705.
- Bell, Robert and Jay Chaskes
 1970 "Premarital sexual experience among coeds, 1958 and 1968." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 32 (February):81-95.
- Bell, Robert
 1971 *Marriage and Family Interaction*. Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press.

Berelson, Bernard

- 1954 "Content analysis." In G. Lindzey (ed.), *Handbook of Social Psychology*, I. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley.
- 1957 "Majority and minority Americans: An analysis of magazine fiction." In Bernard Rosenberg and David White (eds.), *Mass Culture: The Popular Arts in America*. New York: The Free Press.

Berlo, David

- 1960 *The Process of Communication: An Introduction to Theory and Practice*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

Bezdek, W. and Fred Strodtbeck

- 1970 "Sex-role identity and pragmatic action." *American Sociological Review* 35 (June):491-502.

Blood, Robert

- 1962 *Marriage*. New York: The Free Press.

Bogart, Leo

- 1957 "Comic strips and their adult readers." In Bernard Rosenberg and David White (eds.), *Mass Culture: The Popular Arts in America*. New York: The Free Press.
- 1960 "The growth of television." In William Schramm (ed.), *Mass Communication*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Breed, Warren

- 1958 "Mass communication and socio-cultural integration." *Social Forces* 37 (September):109-116.
- 1964 "Mass communication and socio-cultural integration." In L. Dexter and David White (eds.), *People, Society and Mass Communication*. Glencoe, Illinois: Glencoe Free Press.

Brim, O. G., and S. Wheeler

- 1966 *Socialization After Childhood: Two Essays*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.

Broderick, C.

- 1965 "Social heterosexual development among urban negroes and whites." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 27 (February):200-203.

Broom, L. and P. Selznick

- 1963 *Sociology*. New York: Harper and Row.

Budd, R., R. Thorp and L. Donohew

- 1967 *Content Analysis of Communications*. New York: Macmillan.

Cantril, H., H. Gaudet and H. Herzog

- 1940 *Invasion from Mars*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

- Christenson, Harold
1964 Handbook of Marriage and Family. Chicago: Rand McNally.
- Comstock, George and Eli Rubenstein
1971 "New research on media content and control." In Television and Social Behavior, I. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.
- Connolly, Charles
1972 Assistant Professor, Telecommunicative Arts Department. Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa. Personal Interview.
- Danish, Roy
1963 "The American family and mass communication." Journal of Marriage and Family 25 (August):305-310.
- DeFleur, Melvin
1964 "Occupational roles as portrayed on T.V." Public Opinion Quarterly 28 (Spring):57-74.
1970 Theories of Mass Communication. New York: David McKay Company.
- DeFleur, Melvin, William D'Antonio and Lois DeFleur
1971 Sociology: Man in Society. Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman.
- Dexter, L. and David White
1964 People, Society, and Mass Communication. Glencoe, Illinois: Glencoe Free Press.
- Dominick, J. R. and B. Greenberg
1971 "Attitudes toward violence: The interaction of television exposure, family attitudes, and social class." In G. Comstock (ed.), Television and Social Behavior, II. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.
- Duncan, Hugh
1962 Communication and Social Order. New York: Bedminster Press.
- Dunn, Marie
1960 "Marriage role expectation of adolescents." Marriage and Family Living 22 (May):99-111.
- Empey, Lamar
1958 "Role expectation of young women regarding marriage and a career." Marriage and Family Living 20 (May):152-155.
- England, R. W.
1960 "Images of love and courtship in family magazine fiction." Marriage and Family Living 24 (May):162-165.

- Fearing, Franklin
 1954 "Social impact of the mass media of communication." In Mass Media and Education. Fifty-Third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Feshbach, S.
 1971 "Effects of reality vs. fantasy in filmed violence." In G. Comstock (ed.), Television and Social Behavior, II. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.
- Feshbach, S. and R. Singer
 1971 Television and Aggression. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Foster, June
 1964 "Father images: Television and ideal." Journal of Marriage and Family 26 (August):353-355.
- Gans, Herbert
 1964 "The rise of the problem film: An analysis of changes in Hollywood films and the American audience." In E. Mizruchi (ed.), The Substance of Sociology. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.
- Geiken, Karen
 1964 "Expectations concerning husband-wife responsibilities in the home." Journal of Marriage and Family 26 (August):349-353.
- Gentile, F. and S. Miller
 1961 "Television and social class." Sociology and Social Research 45 (April):259-264.
- Gerbner, George
 1958 "On content analysis and critical research in mass communication." Audio-Visual Communication Review 6 (Spring):85-108.
 1969 "Dimensions of violence in television drama." In Mass Media Task Force: National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.
 1971 "Violence in television drama: Trends and symbolic functions." In G. Comstock (ed.), Television and Social Behavior, I. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.
- Gil, David
 1971 "Violence against children." Journal of Marriage and Family 33 (November):637-649.
- Goldsen, Rose
 1971 "NBC's make believe research on T.V. violence." Transaction 8 (October):23-35.

- Goode, William
1971 "Force and violence in the family." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 33 (November):624-636.
- Greenberg, B. and Brenda Dervin
1969 "Mass communication among the urban poor." Report No. 5. Department of Communication, Michigan State University, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
- Hatch, Mary and David Hatch
1958 "Problems of married working women as presented by three popular working women's magazines." *Social Forces* 37 (September):148-153.
- Hausknecht, Murray
1957 "The mike in the bosom." In B. Rosenberg and David White (eds.), *Mass Culture: The Popular Arts in America*. New York: The Free Press.
- Hazard, William, J. D. Moriaty and V. Thomas
1964 "A non-topical system of T.V. program categories." *Audio-Visual Communication Review* 12 (Summer):146-164.
- Head, Sydney
1954 "Content analysis of television drama programs." *Quarterly of Film, Radio, and Television* 9 (Spring):175-194.
- Heiss, Jerome
1968 *Family Roles and Interaction: An Anthology*. Chicago: Rand McNally and Company.
- Herzog, Herta
1954 "Motivations and gratifications of daily serial listeners." In Wilbur Schramm (ed.), *The Process and Effects of Mass Communication*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Holsti, Ole
1969 *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities*. Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Company.
- Hovland, Carl and W. Weiss
1951 "The influence of source credibility on communication effectiveness." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 15 (Winter):635-650.
- Hurvitz, Nathan
1961 "The components of social roles." In Jacqueline Wiseman (ed.), *People as Partners*. San Francisco: Canfield Press.

- Inkeles, Alex
1969 "Social structure and socialization." In D. Goslin (ed.),
Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research. Chicago:
Rand McNally and Company.
- Johns-Heine, Patrick
1957 "Values in mass periodical fiction: 1921-1940." In B.
Rosenberg and David White (eds.), Mass Culture: The Popular
Arts in America. New York: The Free Press.
- Johnson, Nicholas
1970 "What do we know about television?" Saturday Review, July 11:
14.
- Kaats, Gilbert and Keith Davis
1970 "The dynamics of sexual behavior of college students." Journal
of Marriage and Family 32 (August):390-400.
- Katzman, Nathan
1972 "Television soap operas: What's been going on anyway?"
Public Opinion Quarterly 36 (Summer):200-213.
- Kenkel, William
1957 "Influence differentiation in family decision making."
Sociology and Social Research 42 (September):18-25.
1959 "Traditional family ideology and spousal roles in decision
making." Marriage and Family Living 21 (November):334-339.
1969 "Marriage and family in modern science fiction." Journal of
Marriage and Family 31 (February):6-15.
- Kerlinger, Fred
1964 Foundations of Behavioral Research. New York: Holt, Rinehart
and Winston.
- Kirkpatrick, C.
1963 The Family: As Process and Institution. New York: Ronald
Press.
- Kinsey, Alfred, Wardell Pomeroy, and Clyde Martin
1948 Sexual Behavior in the Human Male. Philadelphia: W. W.
Saunders.
- Kinsey, Alfred, Wardell Pomeroy, Clyde Martin, and Paul Gebhard
1953 Sexual Behavior in the Human Female. Philadelphia: W. W.
Saunders.
- Klapper, J. T.
1960 The Effects of Mass Communication. Glencoe, Illinois:
Glencoe Free Press.

- Klemer, Richard
1970 Marriage and Family Relationships. New York: Harper and Row.
- Landis, Paul
1965 Making the Most of Marriage. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.
- Lange, David
1969 Mass Media and Violence: A Report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, XI. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.
- Largey, Gale
1973 "Sex control and society: A critical assessment of sociological speculations." Social Problems 20 (Winter):310-319.
- Larsen, Otto, Louis Gray and Gerald Fortes
1963 "Goals and goal achievement methods in television content: Models for anomie?" Sociological Inquiry 33 (Spring):180-196.
- Larsen, Otto
1964 "Social effects of mass communication." In R. Faris (ed.), Handbook of Modern Sociology. Chicago: Rand McNally Company.
1968 Violence and the Mass Media. New York: Harper and Row.
- Larsen, Otto and Marvin Wolfgang
1970 Report of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography. New York: Bantam Books.
- Lazarsfeld, Paul and Robert Merton
1957 "Mass communication, popular taste, and organized social action." In B. Rosenberg and David White (eds.), Mass Culture: The Popular Arts in America. New York: The Free Press.
- Lefkowitz, M., L. D. Eron, L. O. Walder, and L. Huesman
1971 "Television violence and child aggression: A followup study." In G. Comstock (ed.), Television and Social Behavior, III. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.
- Leifer, A. and D. Roberts
1971 "Children's responses to televised violence." In G. Comstock (ed.), Television and Social Behavior, II. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.
- Liebert, Robert
1971 "Television and social learning: Some relationships between viewing violence and behavior aggressively." In G. Comstock (ed.), Television and Social Behavior, II. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.

Liebert, Robert, John Neale and Emily Davidson
1973 The Early Window. New York: Pergamon Press.

LeMasters, E. E.
1957 "Parenthood as crisis." Marriage and Family Living 79
(November):352-355.
1970 Parents in Modern America: A Sociological Analysis. Homewood,
Illinois: Dorsey Press.

Loercher, Diane
1972 "Daytime T.V. 'involves' 48 million American women." Des
Moines Sunday Register, Des Moines, Iowa. T.V. Magazine,
January 23:4.

Looney, Gerald
1971 "T.V. time spent by tots outlasts going to college." Des
Moines Register, Des Moines, Iowa, October 18:4.

LoSciuto, Leonard
1971 "A national inventory of television viewing behavior." In
G. Comstock (ed.), Television and Social Behavior, IV.
Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.

Lovejoy, D. B.
1961 "College student conceptions of the roles of husband and wife
in family decision making." Family Life Coordinator 9
(January):43-46.

Lutheran, The
1973 "CBS-T.V. urged to drop 'Bridget Loves Bernie'." January
24:47.

Lyle, J. and H. Hoffman
1971 "Children's use of television and other media." In G. Comstock
(ed.), Television and Social Behavior, IV. Washington, D. C.:
Government Printing Office.

Maccoby, Eleanor
1954 "Why do children watch television?" Public Opinion Quarterly
18 (Fall):239-244.

Martin, C. and L. Benson
1970 "Parental perceptions of the role of television in parent-child
interaction." Journal of Marriage and Family 32 (August):
410-414.

Mathews, V. and C. Mihanovich
1963 "New orientations on marital maladjustment." Marriage and
Family Living 25 (August):300-304.

- Mead, Margaret
1949 Male and Female. New York: William Morrow and Company.
- Merton, Robert
1968 Social Theory and Social Structure. New York: The Free Press.
- McDonagh, Edward
1950 "Television and the family." *Sociology and Social Research* 35 (October):113-122.
- McIntyre, J. and J. Teevan
1971 "Television and deviant behavior." In G. Comstock (ed.), *Television and Social Behavior, III*. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.
- McLeod, J., C. Atkin, and S. Chaffee
1971 "Adolescents, parents, and television use." In G. Comstock (ed.), *Television and Social Behavior, III*. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.
- Mehling, R.
1960 "Television's values to the American family member." *Journal of Broadcasting* 4 (Fall):307-313.
- Mendelsohn, Harold
1966 Mass Entertainment. New Haven: College and University Press.
- Meyersohn, Rolf
1957 "Social research in television." In B. Rosenberg and David White (ed.), *Mass Culture: The Popular Arts in America*. New York: The Free Press.
- Miller, S. and F. Riessman
1969 "The working class norms." In James Price (ed.), *Social Facts*. Toronto: Collier-Macmillan.
- Millman, Marcia
1971 "Observations on sex role research." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 33 (November):772-776.
- Mitchell, R.
1967 "The use of content analysis for exploratory studies." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 31 (Summer):230-241.
- Mudd, Emily and R. Hey
1959 "Recurring problems in marriage counseling." *Marriage and Family Living* 21 (May):127-128.

- Murray, J. P.
1971 "Television in inner-city homes: viewing patterns of young boys." In G. Comstock (ed.), *Television and Social Behavior*, IV. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.
- Neubeck, Gerhard
1969 *Extra-marital Relations*. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall.
- O'Hara, Robert
1962 *Media for the Millions*. New York: Random House.
- Parsons, Talcott
1943 "The kinship system of the contemporary U. S." *American Anthropologist* 45 (February):22-38.
1951 *The Social System*. New York: The Free Press.
- Parsons, Talcott, Robert Bales and E. Strieb
1955 *Working Papers in the Theory of Action*. Glencoe, Illinois: Glencoe Free Press.
- Parsons, Talcott and Robert Bales
1955 *Family, Socialization, and Interaction Process*. Glencoe, Illinois: Glencoe Free Press.
- Parsons, Talcott and Edward Shils
1962 *Toward a General Theory of Action*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Pierce, Ponchitta
1973 "Souping up the soaps." *McCalls Magazine*. V. C. 9:39.
- Pool, Ithiel
1959 *Trends in Content Analysis*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Riley, Mathilda and John Riley
1951 "A sociological approach to communication research." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 15 (Fall):444-460.
- Riley, John and M. Riley
1959 "Mass communication and the social system." In R. Merton, L. Broom, and L. Cottrell (eds.), *Sociology Today*. New York: Basic Books.
- Roberts, Kenneth
1970 *Leisure*. London: Longman Group Limited.

- Robinson, John
1971 "Toward defining the functions of television." In G. Comstock (ed.), *Television and Social Behavior, IV*. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.
- Rogers, Carl
1968 "Man-woman relationships in the year 2000." In F. Cox (ed.), *American Marriage: A Changing Scene*. Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown.
- Roleder, George
1973 *Marriage Means Encounter*. Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown.
- Rollin, Betty
1971 "The American way of marriage: Remarriage." *Look* 35 (September):19.
- Rosenberg, B. and David White
1957 *Mass Culture: The Popular Arts in America*. New York: The Free Press.
- Schramm, Wilbur
1957 *Responsibility in Mass Communication*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Seldes, Gilbert
1950 *The Great Audience*. New York: Viking Press.
- Shayon, R.
1950 "The Pied-Piper of video." *Saturday Review of Literature* 33 (November):9-11.
- Shannon, Lyle
1954 "The opinions of little Orphan Annie and her friends." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 18 (Summer):169-179.
- Sirjamaki, John
1948 "Culture configurations in the American family." *American Journal of Sociology* 53 (March):464-470.
- Smythe, Dallas
1959 "A sociological perspective." In Charles Wright, *Mass communication*. New York: Random House.
- State, The
1973 "Jewish groups attack CBS show." *February* 8:18.
- Statistical Abstract
1972 *U. S. Bureau of the Census*. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.

- Stein, A. and L. Friedrich
 1971 "Television content and young Children's behavior." In
 G. Comstock (ed.), Television and Social Behavior, II.
 Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.
- Steiner, Gary
 1963 The People Look at Television. New York: Alfred Knopf.
- Stevenson, Harold
 1971 "Television and the behavior of preschool children." In
 G. Comstock (ed.), Television and Social Behavior, II.
 Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.
- Strodtbeck, Fred
 1951 "Husband-wife interaction over revealed differences." American
 Sociological Review 16 (June):468-473.
- Television and Growing Up
 1972 The Impact of Television Violence. Report to the Surgeon
 General. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.
- Tunstall, Jeremy
 1970 Media Sociology. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Turner, Ralph
 1970 Family Interaction. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Turner, R. and L. Killian
 1957 Collective Behavior. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall.
- Udry, J.
 1971 The Social Context of Marriage. Philadelphia: J. P.
 Lippincott.
- U. S. Bureau of the Census
 1960 Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to
 1957. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.
 1967 Current Population Reports: Population Characteristics.
 Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.
 1970 General Social and Economic Characteristics: South Carolina.
 Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.
- U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
 1971 Television and Social Behavior, 5 vols. Washington, D. C.:
 Government Printing Office.
- Ward, S.
 1971 "Effects of television advertising on children and adolescents."
 In G. Comstock (ed.), Television and Social Behavior, IV.
 Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.

- Webb, E., D. Campbell, R. Schwartz, and L. Sechrest
 1966 Unobstrusive Measures: Non-reactive Research in the Social Sciences. Chicago: Rand McNally and Company
- Wilensky, Harold
 1964 "Mass society and mass culture: Interdependence or independence." American Sociological Review 29 (September):173-197.
- Williams, Robin
 1951 American Society. New York: Alfred Knopf.
- World Almanac and Book of Facts
 1973 New York: Newspaper Enterprise Association.
- Wright, Charles
 1959 Mass Communication: A Sociological Perspective. New York: Random House.
 1964 "Functional analysis and mass communication." In L. Dexter and David White (eds.), People, Society, and Mass Communication. Glencoe, Illinois: Glencoe Free Press.
- Yarbrough, Paul
 1968 "A model for the analysis of receiver responses to communication." Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation.

THE APPENDIX A

Table I
Prevalence of subject-matter category by networks
and days of week

| DAYS | CBS | NBC | ABC | TOTAL |
|--|------|-------|--------|--------|
| <u>Saturday</u> | | | | |
| Total Broadcast Hours (100%) | 19 | 18 | 18 | 55 |
| Subject Matter-Hours | | | | |
| Broadcast | 3.5 | 0 | 0 | 3.5 |
| % of Broadcast day | 18 | 0 | 0 | 6.0 |
| <u>Sunday</u> | | | | |
| Total Broadcast Hours (100%) | 17.5 | 17.5 | 18.25 | 53.25 |
| Subject Matter-Hours | | | | |
| Broadcast | .5 | 0 | 0 | .5 |
| % of Broadcast day | 2 | 0 | 0 | .9 |
| <u>Monday</u> | | | | |
| Total Broadcast Hours (100%) | 19 | 19.25 | 17.5 | 55.75 |
| Subject Matter-Hours | | | | |
| Broadcast | 5.5 | 6 | 1.5 | 13 |
| % of Broadcast day | 29 | 31 | 8 | 23 |
| <u>Tuesday</u> | | | | |
| Total Broadcast Hours (100%) | 19 | 18.5 | 18 | 55.5 |
| Subject Matter-Hours | | | | |
| Broadcast | 5 | 2 | 1.5 | 8.5 |
| % of Broadcast day | 26 | 10 | 8 | 15 |
| <u>Wednesday</u> | | | | |
| Total Broadcast Hours (100%) | 19 | 18.25 | 18.5 | 55.75 |
| Subject Matter-Hours | | | | |
| Broadcast | 4.5 | 2 | 3 | 9.50 |
| % of Broadcast day | 24 | 11 | 15 | 17 |
| <u>Thursday</u> | | | | |
| Total Broadcast Hours (100%) | 19 | 18.5 | 17 | 54.5 |
| Subject Matter-Hours | | | | |
| Broadcast | 4.5 | 2 | 1.5 | 8 |
| % of Broadcast day | 26 | 11 | 9 | 15 |
| <u>Friday</u> | | | | |
| Total Broadcast Hours (100%) | 19.5 | 20 | 17 | 56.5 |
| Subject Matter-Hours | | | | |
| Broadcast | 4.5 | 2.5 | 2.5 | 9.5 |
| % of Broadcast day | 23 | 12 | 15 | 17 |
| Total Network Hours | 132 | 130 | 124.25 | |
| Subject Matter- Total | | | | |
| Broadcast | 28 | 14.5 | 10 | |
| % of Broadcast Week | 21 | 11 | 8 | |
| Total Broadcast Hours for Week of Analysis | | | | 386.25 |
| Total Subject Matter Broadcast Hours | | | | 52.50 |
| Percentage of Total Broadcast Week | | | | 14 |

Table 2

Subject-matter broadcast by networks and type
of program in exclusive hours and minutes^a

| Type of Program | NETWORKS | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|----------|---------|-------|---------|-------|---------|-------|---------|
| | CBS | | NBC | | ABC | | Total | |
| | Hours | Minutes | Hours | Minutes | Hours | Minutes | Hours | Minutes |
| Serials | 7:17 | 437 | 3:02 | 182 | 1:06 | 66 | 10:25 | 685 |
| Movies | 1:29 | 89 | 1:28 | 88 | 1:06 | 66 | 4:01 | 241 |
| Light Situation Comedies | 2:23 | 163 | 1:56 | 116 | 1:57 | 117 | 6:36 | 396 |
| Studio Quiz | | | | | | 20 | | 20 |
| Prestige Drama | | | | | | 54 | | 54 |
| Total | 11:29 | 689 | 6:26 | 386 | 5:23 | 323 | 23:18 | 1398 |

^aContains no commercials, irrelevant "leads", "tails", or credits

Table 3

Sample programs by network and type

| <u>Program Title</u> | <u>Network</u> | <u>Type</u> |
|----------------------------|--------------------|-------------|
| Days of Our Lives | NBC | 18 |
| All My Children | ABC | 18 |
| Newlywed Game | ABC | 22 |
| Owen Marshall | ABC | 10 |
| Never Too Late | CBS | 38 |
| Diary of a Mad Housewife | NBC | 38 |
| The Thrill of It All | ABC | 38 |
| The Paul Lynde Show | ABC | 11 |
| The Brady Bunch | ABC | 11 |
| The Partridge Family | ABC | 11 |
| Bridget Loves Bernie | CBS | 11 |
| The Bob Newhart Show | CBS | 11 |
| Mayberry, RFD | CBS | 11 |
| Maude | CBS | 11 |
| All in the Family | CBS | 11 |
| Sanford and Son | NBC | 11 |
| The New Dick Van Dyke Show | CBS | 11 |
| Hazel | CBS | 11 |
| The Love of Life | CBS | 18 |
| Bewitched | ABC | 11 |
| The Dick Van Dyke Show | NBC | 11 |
| The Secret Storm | CBS | 18 |
| Search for Tomorrow | CBS | 18 |
| The Doctors | NBC | 18 |
| Where the Heart Is | CBS | 18 |
| Another World | NBC | 18 |
| The Edge of Night | CBS | 18 |
| The Guiding Light | CBS | 18 |
| As the World Turns | CBS | 18 |
| <u>Program Types</u> | <u>Type Number</u> | |
| Prestige Drama | 10 | |
| Light Situation Comedy | 11 | |
| Serials | 18 | |
| Studio Quiz | 22 | |
| Movies | 38 | |

Table 4

Analysis number of programs analyzed

| <u>Analysis Number</u> | <u>Program</u> |
|------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1 | Days of Our Lives |
| 2 | All My Children |
| 3 | Newlywed Game |
| 4 | Owen Marshall |
| 5 | Never Too Late |
| 6 | Diary of a Mad Housewife |
| 7 | The Thrill of It All |
| 8 | The Paul Lynde Show |
| 9 | The Brady Bunch |
| 10 | The Partridge Family |
| 11 | Bridget Loves Bernie |
| 12 | The Bob Newhart Show |
| 13 | Mayberry, RFD |
| 14 | Maude |
| 15 | All in the Family |
| 16 | Sanford and Son |
| 17 | The New Dick Van Dyke Show |
| 18 | Hazel |
| 19 | The Love of Life |
| 20 | Bewitched |
| 21 | The Dick Van Dyke Show |
| 22 | The Secret Storm |
| 23 | Search for Tomorrow |
| 24 | The Doctors |
| 25 | Where the Heart Is |
| 26 | Another World |
| 27 | The Edge of Night |
| 28 | The Guiding Light |
| 29 | As the World Turns |

Table 5

Calendar of day television programs analyzed by networks
and analysis number: January 27 to February 2, 1973

[illegible]

[illegible]

Table 7

Total number of scenes, marriage and family scenes, and marriage and family acts in the serials analyzed

| <u>Program Title</u> | <u>Number of Scenes</u> | <u>Marriage and Family Scenes</u> | <u>Marriage and Family Acts</u> | <u>Marriage and Family Scenes-Percentage</u> | <u>Number of Programs</u> |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|-----------------------------------|
| Days of Our Lives | 47 | 9 | 21 | 19 | 3 |
| The Doctors | 10 | 6 | 29 | 60 | 2 |
| As the World Turns | 27 | 4 | 16 | 15 | 4 |
| Another World | 53 | 24 | 55 | 45 | 3 |
| All My Children | 21 | 3 | 7 | 14 | 3 |
| Search for Tomorrow | 70 | 16 | 71 | 23 | 5 |
| The Secret Storm | 43 | 8 | 34 | 19 | 5 |
| Where the Heart Is | 82 | 17 | 31 | 20 | 5 |
| The Edge of Night | 22 | 3 | 3 | 14 | 3 |
| The Love of Life | 49 | 11 | 13 | 22 | 3 |
| The Guiding Light | 8 | 3 | 9 | 38 | 1 |

Table 8

Total number of scenes, marriage and family scenes, and marriage and family acts in light situation comedies analyzed

| <u>Title of Program</u> | <u>Number of Scenes</u> | <u>Marriage and Family Scenes</u> | <u>Marriage and Family Acts</u> | <u>Marriage and Family Scenes-Percentage</u> | <u>Number of Programs</u> |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|--|---------------------------|
| Sanford and Son | 23 | 10 | 17 | 43 | 1 |
| Dick Van Dyke | 107 | 17 | 46 | 16 | 3 |
| New Dick Van Dyke | 35 | 16 | 33 | 46 | 1 |
| Paul Lynde Show | 52 | 15 | 20 | 29 | 1 |
| Bewitched | 79 | 26 | 49 | 33 | 2 |
| The Brady Bunch | 47 | 17 | 23 | 36 | 1 |
| The Partridge Family | 41 | 6 | 10 | 15 | 1 |
| Bridget Loves Bernie | 85 | 35 | 45 | 41 | 1 |
| Hazel | 76 | 39 | 37 | 51 | 2 |
| The Bob Newhart Show | 20 | 4 | 20 | 20 | 1 |
| Maude | 43 | 17 | 22 | 40 | 1 |
| All in the Family | 28 | 19 | 28 | 68 | 1 |
| Mayberry, RFD | 54 | 7 | 8 | 13 | 1 |

Table 9

Total number of scenes, marriage and family scenes, and marriage and family acts in the movies, studio quiz, and prestige drama analyzed

| <u>Title of Program</u> | <u>Number of Scenes</u> | <u>Marriage and Family Scenes</u> | <u>Marriage and Family Acts</u> | <u>Marriage and Family Scenes-Percentage</u> | <u>Number of Programs</u> |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|-----------------------------------|
| Movies: | | | | | |
| The Thrill of It All | 97 | 28 | 72 | 28 | 1 |
| The Diary of a Mad Housewife | 95 | 49 | 69 | 51 | 1 |
| Never Too Late | 136 | 60 | 106 | 44 | 1 |
| Studio Quiz: | | | | | |
| Newlywed Game | 74 | 23 | 28 | 42 | 1 |
| Prestige Drama: | | | | | |
| Owen Marshall | 57 | 5 | 9 | 8 | 1 |

Table 10

Program by program score(rate), network, and type of program

| <u>Program Title</u> | <u>Program Score</u> | <u>Network</u> | <u>Type</u> |
|------------------------------|----------------------|----------------|-------------|
| Days of Our Lives | 3.36 | NBC | 18 |
| All My Children | 2.83 | ABC | 18 |
| Newlywed Game | 3.63 | ABC | 22 |
| Owen Marshall | 2.67 | ABC | 10 |
| Never Too Late | 3.99 | CBS | 38 |
| The Diary of A Mad Housewife | 3.44 | NBC | 38 |
| The Thrill of It All | 4.74 | ABC | 38 |
| The Paul Lynde Show | 2.87 | ABC | 11 |
| The Brady Bunch | 3.05 | ABC | 11 |
| The Partridge Family | 2.47 | ABC | 11 |
| Bridget Loves Bernie | 4.19 | CBS | 11 |
| The Bob Newhart Show | 6.89 | CBS | 11 |
| Mayberry, RFD | 1.74 | CBS | 11 |
| Maude | 3.05 | CBS | 11 |
| All in the Family | 4.55 | CBS | 11 |
| Sanford and Son | 4.48 | NBC | 11 |
| The New Dick Van Dyke | 4.78 | CBS | 11 |
| Hazel | 2.95 | CBS | 11 |
| The Love of Life | 1.89 | CBS | 18 |
| Bewitched | 4.23 | ABC | 11 |
| The Dick Van Dyke Show | 3.99 | NBC | 11 |
| The Secret Storm | 5.21 | CBS | 18 |
| Search for Tomorrow | 6.35 | CBS | 18 |
| The Doctors | 1.47 | NBC | 18 |
| Where the Heart Is | 2.82 | CBS | 18 |
| Another World | 4.70 | NBC | 18 |
| The Edge of Night | 1.25 | CBS | 18 |
| The Guiding Light | 4.95 | CBS | 18 |
| As the World Turns | 4.95 | CBS | 18 |

Table 11

The serials: Rate per program, rate per minute,
rate per recording unit_a

| <u>Title of Program</u> | <u>Rate per Program</u> | <u>Rate per Minute</u> | <u>Rate per Recording Unit</u> |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|--|
| The Days of Our Lives | .45 | .26 | 2.3 |
| The Doctors | 2.90 | .64 | 4.8 |
| As the World Turns | .59 | .20 | 4.0 |
| Another World | 1.04 | .92 | 2.29 |
| All My Children | .33 | .10 | 2.29 |
| Search for Tomorrow | 1.01 | .67 | 2.33 |
| The Secret Storm | .70 | .34 | 4.44 |
| Where the Heart Is | .37 | .38 | 4.25 |
| The Edge of Night | .14 | .05 | 4.42 |
| The Love of Life | .27 | .22 | 1.18 |
| The Guiding Light | 1.12 | .14 | 3.00 |

^aInterpretation of Rates:

Rate per Program - Number of Marriage and Family Acts Divided by Total Number of Scenes

Rate per Minute - Number of Marriage and Family Acts Divided by Total Number of Exclusive Minutes (No commercials, credits, leads, tails)

Rate per Recording Unit - Number of Marriage and Family Acts Divided by Number of Marriage and Family Scenes

Table 12

The light situation comedies:

Rate per program, rate per minute, and rate per recording unit

| <u>Title of Program</u> | <u>Rate per Program</u> | <u>Rate per Minute</u> | <u>Rate per Recording Unit</u> |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|--|
| The Paul Lynde Show | .38 | .87 | 1.33 |
| All in the Family | 1.00 | 1.40 | 1.47 |
| The Partridge Family | 2.40 | .42 | 1.66 |
| The Bob Newhart Show | 1.00 | .87 | 5.00 |
| Maude | .51 | .85 | 1.29 |
| The Brady Bunch | .49 | .85 | 1.35 |
| Sanford and Son | .74 | .65 | 1.70 |
| Hazel | .49 | .65 | 1.28 |
| Bridget Loves Bernie | .53 | 1.97 | 1.29 |
| Bewitched | .62 | 1.14 | 1.36 |
| The Dick Van Dyke Show | .43 | .70 | 2.70 |
| Mayberry, RFD | .15 | .32 | 1.43 |
| The New Dick Van Dyke Show | .94 | 1.32 | 2.06 |

Table 13

The movies, the prestige drama, and the studio quiz:
Rate per program, rate per minute, and rate per recording unit

| <u>Title of Program</u> | <u>Rate per Program</u> | <u>Rate per Minute</u> | <u>Rate per Recording Unit</u> |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|--|
| Movies: | | | |
| The Thrill of It All | .74 | 1.13 | 2.57 |
| The Diary of a Mad Housewife | .73 | .78 | 1.41 |
| Never Too Late | .78 | 1.19 | 1.77 |
| Prestige Drama: | | | |
| Owen Marshall | .19 | .20 | 2.20 |
| Studio Quiz: | | | |
| Newlywed Game | .42 | 1.55 | 1.35 |

Table 14

Frequencies of marital and familial acts in recording unit
per program: Interaction between spouses, father with son
and daughter, mother with son and daughter

| <u>Title of Program</u> | <u>Type</u> | <u>Interaction Between Spouses</u> | <u>Father/ Son</u> | <u>Father/ Daughter</u> | <u>Mother/ Son</u> | <u>Mother/ Daughter</u> |
|--------------------------|-------------|--|------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| The New Dick Van Dyke | 11 | 2.20 | 1.38 | 2.33 | | |
| The Dick Van Dyke Show | 11 | 2.55 | | | | |
| The Love of Life | 18 | 1.50 | | | | 1.00 |
| Hazel | 11 | 1.38 | 1.44 | | 1.66 | |
| Sanford and Son | 11 | | 1.70 | | | |
| All in the Family | 11 | 1.71 | | 1.00 | | 1.00 |
| Maude | 11 | 1.42 | | 1.00 | | 1.00 |
| Mayberry, RFD | 11 | | 1.14 | | | |
| The Bob Newhart Show | 11 | 5.00 | | | | |
| All My Children | 18 | 2.33 | | | | |
| The Days of Our Lives | 18 | 1.20 | | | | 4.33 |
| As the World Turns | 18 | 5.50 | | | | 2.50 |
| The Guiding Light | 18 | | | | 1.50 | 6.00 |
| The Edge of Night | 18 | 1.00 | | | | |
| Another World | 18 | 2.22 | 2.40 | 4.50 | 1.66 | 2.00 |
| Where the Heart Is | 18 | 2.00 | 1.00 | 3.00 | | 1.00 |
| The Doctors | 18 | 5.25 | | | 5.00 | |
| Search for Tomorrow | 18 | 5.23 | | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 |
| The Secret Storm | 18 | 4.80 | | | 3.00 | |
| Bewitched | 11 | 1.74 | | 1.50 | 1.50 | 1.50 |
| Bridget Loves Bernie | 11 | 1.32 | 1.50 | 1.20 | 1.00 | 1.00 |
| The Partridge Family | 11 | | | | 1.66 | |
| The Brady Bunch | 11 | 2.40 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.33 |
| The Paul Lynde Show | 11 | 1.45 | 1.00 | | | |
| The Thrill of It All | 38 | 6.44 | 1.66 | 1.50 | 1.50 | 1.00 |
| Diary of a Mad Housewife | 38 | 2.13 | | 1.16 | | 2.00 |
| Never Too Late | 38 | 2.10 | | 1.16 | | 1.60 |
| Owen Marshall | 10 | | 1.00 | 3.00 | 2.00 | |
| Newlywed Game | 22 | 1.35 | | | | |

Table 15

Frequency of marriage and family acts by network:
CBS programs (N=35)

| <u>Acts Portrayed</u> | <u>Frequency</u> | <u>Rate of Marriage and Family Acts</u> |
|--|------------------|---|
| Concern | 26 | .74 |
| Interest in Activities | 2 | .05 |
| Display of Verbal Affection | 111 | 3.20 |
| Display of Physical Affection | 99 | 2.80 |
| Doing Household Chores | 4 | .11 |
| Displays Concern/Financial Matters | 7 | .20 |
| Disciplines Children | 21 | .60 |
| Care of Children: Illness | 1 | .02 |
| Recreational Activities with Family | 9 | .25 |
| Initiates Arguments | 22 | .62 |
| Joking, Teasing | 6 | .17 |
| Display of Religious Practices | | |
| Teaching Sex Education | 2 | .05 |
| Displays Violence | | |
| Complaints about Husband | 10 | .28 |
| Complaints about Wife | 14 | .40 |
| Complaints about Children | 10 | .28 |
| Apologies | 9 | .25 |
| Compliments Spouse | 2 | .05 |
| Compliments Children | 3 | .08 |
| Assists Spouse | 6 | .17 |
| Assists Children | 4 | .11 |
| Discussion | 58 | 1.66 |
| Comforts Spouse/Children | 3 | .08 |
| Forgiveness: Extra-marital | | |
| Discuss Extra-marital Affairs | | |
| Accuses Spouse of Extra-marital Affair | | |
| Leaves Spouse | 3 | .08 |
| Returns to Spouse | | |
| Throws Ex-Spouse Out | | |
| Purchases Gift | 1 | .02 |
| Displays of Jealousy | 5 | .14 |
| Stays up Waiting for Spouse | | |
| Advises Spouse on Business Affairs | 1 | .02 |
| Coaxes Spouse | 2 | .05 |
| Display of Extra-marital Acts | | |

Table 16

Frequency of marriage and family acts by network:
NBC programs (N=14)

| <u>Acts Portrayed</u> | <u>Frequency</u> | <u>Rate of Marriage and Family Acts</u> |
|--|------------------|---|
| Concern | 15 | 1.07 |
| Interest in Activities | 1 | .07 |
| Display of Verbal Affection | 42 | 3.19 |
| Display of Physical Affection | 36 | 3.07 |
| Doing Household Chores | 3 | .21 |
| Displays Concern/Financial Matters | 3 | .21 |
| Disciplines Children | 18 | 1.21 |
| Care of Children: Illness | 3 | .28 |
| Recreation Activities with Family | 4 | .28 |
| Initiates Arguments | 6 | .42 |
| Display of Religious Practices | | |
| Joking, Teasing | 3 | .21 |
| Teaching Sex Education | 1 | .07 |
| Displays Violence | 3 | .21 |
| Complaints about Husband | 15 | 1.07 |
| Complaints about Wife | 12 | .85 |
| Complaints about Children | | |
| Apologies | 4 | .28 |
| Compliments Spouse | 3 | .21 |
| Compliments Children | | |
| Assists Spouse | | |
| Assists Children | | |
| Comforts Spouse/Children | | |
| Discussion | 34 | 2.42 |
| Forgiveness: Extra-marital | 1 | .07 |
| Discuss Extra-marital Affairs | 3 | .21 |
| Accuses Spouse of Extra-marital Affair | 2 | .14 |
| Leaves Spouse | | |
| Returns to Spouse | 1 | .07 |
| Throws Ex-Spouse Out | 1 | .07 |
| Displays of Jealousy | 2 | .14 |
| Stays up Waiting for Spouse | 1 | .07 |
| Advises Spouse on Business Affairs | | |
| Coaxes Spouse | | |
| Refuses Physical Contact with Spouse | 2 | .14 |

Table 17

Frequency of marriage and family acts by network:
ABC programs (N=10)

| <u>Acts Portrayed</u> | <u>Frequency</u> | <u>Rate of Marriage and Family Acts</u> |
|--|------------------|---|
| Concern | 3 | .30 |
| Interest in Activities | | |
| Display of Verbal Affection | 38 | 2.30 |
| Display of Physical Affection | 53 | 3.10 |
| Doing Household Chores | | |
| Displays Concern/Financial Matters | 7 | .70 |
| Disciplines Children | 11 | 1.10 |
| Care of Children: Illness | | |
| Recreation Activities with Family | 1 | .10 |
| Initiates Arguments | 18 | 1.80 |
| Display of Religious Practices | | |
| Joking, Teasing | 12 | 1.20 |
| Teaching Sex Education | 3 | .30 |
| Displays Violence | | |
| Complaints about Husband | 1 | .10 |
| Complaints about Wife | 5 | .50 |
| Complaints about Children | 2 | .20 |
| Apologies | 1 | .10 |
| Compliments Spouse | 2 | .20 |
| Compliments Children | 3 | .30 |
| Assists Spouse | | |
| Assists Children | 1 | .10 |
| Comforts Spouse/Children | | |
| Discussion | 29 | 2.90 |
| Forgiveness: Extra-marital | | |
| Discuss Extra-marital Affairs | | |
| Accuses Spouse of Extra-marital Affair | | |
| Leaves Spouse | 2 | .20 |
| Returns to Spouse | 1 | .10 |
| Throws Ex-Spouse Out | | |
| Displays of Jealousy | 1 | .10 |
| Stays up Waiting for Spouse | | |
| Advises Spouse on Business Affairs | | |
| Coaxes Spouse | | |
| Refuses Physical Contact with Spouse | | |

Table 18

Frequencies of marital and familial acts:
Totals of all programs analyzed

| <u>Acts Portrayed</u> | <u>Husband to Wife</u> | <u>Wife to Husband</u> | <u>Father to Son</u> | <u>Father to Daughter</u> | <u>Mother to Son</u> | <u>Mother to Daughter</u> |
|--|--------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Concern | 12 | 12 | 7 | 3 | 5 | 4 |
| Interest In Activities | 1 | | 1 | | 1 | |
| Display of Verbal Affection | 80 | 78 | 3 | 8 | 9 | 6 |
| Display of Physical Affection | 81 | 63 | 9 | 9 | 13 | 11 |
| Doing Household Chores | 1 | 2 | | | 2 | 2 |
| Displays Concern/Financial | 7 | 5 | | | 1 | 1 |
| Disciplines Children | | | 13 | 16 | 4 | 14 |
| Care of Children: Illness | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Recreational Activities | 6 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 3 |
| Initiates Arguments | 23 | 22 | | | 1 | |
| Displays Religious Practices | | | | | | |
| Joking, Teasing | 7 | 8 | 4 | 1 | | 1 |
| Teaching Sex Education | | | | 1 | 3 | 1 |
| Displays Violence | 2 | | | | 1 | 2 |
| Complaints about Spouse | 49 | 26 | | | | |
| Complaints about Children | 2 | 3 | | | | |
| Apologies | 6 | 7 | | | 1 | |
| Compliments | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 1 |
| Assists | 5 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Comforts | 2 | | 1 | | | 4 |
| Discussion | 61 | 29 | 12 | 5 | 5 | 8 |
| Forgiveness: Extra-marital | 1 | | | | | |
| Discussion: Extra-marital | 1 | 3 | | | | |
| Accuses Spouse of Extra-marital Affair | 1 | 1 | | | | |
| Leaves Spouse | 2 | 2 | | | | |
| Purchases Gifts | | | | 1 | | |
| Displays Jealousy | 2 | 6 | | | | |
| Complaints about In-laws | 4 | 2 | 3 | 1 | | |
| Waits up for Spouse | | 1 | | | | |
| Coaxes Spouse | | 2 | | | | |
| Complaints about Son | | | | 4 | | |
| Advises Spouse/Business | | 1 | | | | |
| Returns to Spouse | 1 | | | | | |
| Refuses Physical Contact | | 2 | | | | |

Table 19

Frequencies of marital and familial acts:
Totals from soap operas

| <u>Acts Portrayed</u> | <u>Husband to Wife</u> | <u>Wife to Husband</u> | <u>Father to Son</u> | <u>Father to Daughter</u> | <u>Mother to Son</u> | <u>Mother to Daughter</u> |
|--|----------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Concern | 7 | 6 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| Interest In Activities | | | | | 10 | |
| Display of Verbal Affection | 34 | 27 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 9 |
| Display of Physical Affection | 30 | 11 | 2 | 2 | 6 | 8 |
| Doing Household Chores | 1 | | | | 2 | 2 |
| Displays Concern/Financial | | | | | | |
| Disciplines Children | | | | 3 | 1 | 1 |
| Care of Children: Illness | | | | | 10 | 1 |
| Recreational Activities | | 2 | | | 2 | 3 |
| Initiates Arguments | 7 | 8 | | | 1 | |
| Displays Religious Practices | | | | | | |
| Joking, Teasing | | 1 | | | | 1 |
| Teaching Sex Education | | | | | | |
| Displays Violence | | | | | | |
| Complaints about Spouse | 1 | 5 | | | | |
| Complaints about Children | | | | | | |
| Apologies | 5 | 4 | | | | |
| Compliments | 1 | 1 | | 1 | 1 | |
| Assists | 1 | | | | | |
| Comforts | 2 | | | | | |
| Discussion | 16 | 12 | 3 | | 3 | 6 |
| Forgiveness: Extra-marital | 1 | | | | | |
| Discussion: Extra-marital | | 1 | | | | |
| Accuses Spouse of Extra-marital Affair | | 1 | | | | |
| Leaves Spouse | 1 | 1 | | | | |
| Purchases Gifts | | | | 1 | | |
| Displays Jealousy | | | | | | |
| Complaints about In-laws | | 1 | | | | |
| Waits up for Spouse | | | | | | |
| Coaxes Spouse | | | | | | |
| Complaints about Son | | | | | | |
| Advises Spouse/Business | | | | | | |
| Returns to Spouse | 1 | 3 | | | | |
| Refuses Physical Contact | | 2 | | | | |

Table 20

Frequencies of marital and familial acts:
Totals light situation comedies

| <u>Acts Portrayed</u> | <u>Husband to Wife</u> | <u>Wife to Husband</u> | <u>Father to Son</u> | <u>Father to Daughter</u> | <u>Mother to Son</u> | <u>Mother to Daughter</u> |
|--|----------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Concern | 2 | 6 | 1 | | 2 | |
| Interest In Activities | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Display of Verbal Affection | 29 | 24 | | 3 | 4 | |
| Display of Physical Affection | 31 | 18 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 1 |
| Doing Household Chores | | 1 | | | | |
| Displays Concern/Financial | 1 | 2 | | | 1 | 1 |
| Disciplines Children | | | 10 | 5 | 1 | 5 |
| Care of Children: Illness | | | | | | |
| Recreational Activities | 2 | | 3 | | | |
| Initiates Arguments | 3 | 7 | | | | |
| Displays Religious Practices | | | | | | |
| Joking, Teasing | 6 | 5 | 4 | 1 | | 1 |
| Teaching Sex Education | | | | | 3 | 1 |
| Displays Violence | 2 | | 1 | | | |
| Complaints about Spouse | 12 | 11 | | | | |
| Complaints about Children | | 1 | | | | |
| Apologies | 1 | 1 | | | | |
| Compliments | 2 | 6 | | | | 1 |
| Assists | 2 | 1 | 4 | | | 1 |
| Comforts | | | | | | |
| Discussion | 27 | 10 | 9 | 10 | 3 | 2 |
| Forgiveness: Extra-marital | | | | | | |
| Discussion: Extra-marital | 2 | | | | | |
| Accuses Spouse of Extra-marital Affair | | | | | | |
| Leaves Spouse | 1 | | | | | |
| Purchases Gifts | | | | | | |
| Displays Jealousy | 2 | 6 | | | | |
| Complaints about In-laws | 4 | 1 | 3 | 1 | | |
| Waits up for Spouse | | 1 | | | | |
| Coaxes Spouse | | 2 | | | | |
| Complaints about Son | | | | 4 | | |
| Advises Spouse/Business | | 1 | | | | |
| Returns to Spouse | | | | | | |
| Refuses Physical Contact | | | | | | |

Table 21

Frequencies of marital and familial acts: Movies

| <u>Acts Portrayed</u> | <u>Husband to Wife</u> | <u>Wife to Husband</u> | <u>Father to Son</u> | <u>Father to Daughter</u> | <u>Mother to Son</u> | <u>Mother to Daughter</u> |
|--|----------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Concern | 5 | 2 | | | | 1 |
| Interest In Activities | | | | | | |
| Display of Verbal Affection | 14 | 25 | | | 1 | 2 |
| Display of Physical Affection | 18 | 21 | 2 | 4 | | 4 |
| Doing Household Chores | | | | | | 1 |
| Displays Concern/Financial | 6 | 3 | | | | |
| Disciplines Children | | | 2 | 8 | 2 | 8 |
| Care of Children: Illness | | | 1 | 1 | | |
| Recreational Activities | 3 | | | | | |
| Initiates Arguments | 5 | 6 | | | | |
| Displays Religious Practices | | | | | | |
| Joking Teasing | 1 | 1 | | | | |
| Teaching Sex Education | | | | 1 | | |
| Displays Violence | | | | | 1 | 2 |
| Complaints about Spouse | 22 | 11 | | | | |
| Complaints about Children | 1 | | | | | |
| Apologies | 4 | 1 | | | | |
| Compliments | | | | | | 1 |
| Assists | 2 | | | 1 | | |
| Comforts | | | | | | |
| Discussion | 18 | 7 | | | | |
| Forgiveness: Extra-marital | | | | | | |
| Discussion: Extra-marital | | | | | | |
| Accuses Spouse of Extra-marital Affair | | | | | | |
| Leaves Spouse | | 1 | | | | |
| Purchases Gifts | | | | | | |
| Displays Jealousy | | | | | | |
| Complaints about In-laws | | | | | | |
| Waits up for Spouse | | | | | | |
| Coaxes Spouse | | | | | | |
| Complaints about Son | | | | | | |
| Advises Spouse/Business | | | | | | |
| Returns to Spouse | | | | | | |
| Refuses Physical Contact | | | | | | |
| "Throws" Spouse Out | 1 | | | | | |

Table 22

Frequencies of marital and familial acts:
Studio quiz

| <u>Acts Portrayed</u> | Husband to Wife | Wife to Husband | Father to Son | Father to Daughter | Mother to Son | Mother to Daughter |
|--|--------------------|--------------------|------------------|-----------------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| Concern | | | | | | |
| Interest In Activities | | | | | | |
| Display of Verbal Affection | | 1 | | | | |
| Display of Physical Affection | 7 | 8 | | | | |
| Doing Household Chores | | | | | | |
| Displays Concern/Financial | | | | | | |
| Disciplines Children | | | | | | |
| Care of Children: Illness | | | | | | |
| Recreational Activities | | | | | | |
| Initiates Arguments | | | | | | |
| Displays Religious Practices | | | | | | |
| Joking, Teasing | | | | | | |
| Teaching Sex Education | | | | | | |
| Displays Violence | | | | | | |
| Complaints about Spouse | 5 | 7 | | | | |
| Complaints about Children | | | | | | |
| Apologies | | | | | | |
| Compliments | | | | | | |
| Assists | | | | | | |
| Comforts | | | | | | |
| Discussion | | | | | | |
| Forgiveness: Extra-marital | | | | | | |
| Discussion: Extra-marital | | | | | | |
| Accuses Spouse of Extra-marital Affair | | | | | | |
| Leaves Spouse | | | | | | |
| Purchases Gifts | | | | | | |
| Displays Jealousy | | | | | | |
| Complaints about In-laws | | | | | | |
| Waits up for Spouse | | | | | | |
| Coaxes Spouse | | | | | | |
| Complaints about Son | | | | | | |
| Advises Spouse/Business | | | | | | |
| Returns to Spouse | | | | | | |
| Refuses Physical Contact | | | | | | |

Table 23

Frequencies of marital and familial acts:
Prestige drama

| <u>Acts Portrayed</u> | Husband to Wife | Wife to Husband | Father to Son | Father to Daughter | Mother to Son | Mother to Daughter |
|---|--------------------|--------------------|------------------|-----------------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| Concern | | | | | | |
| Interest In Activities | | | | | | |
| Display of Verbal Affection | | | | | | |
| Display of Physical Affection | | | | | 2 | |
| Doing Household Chores | | | | | | |
| Displays Concern/Financial | | | | | | |
| Disciplines Children | | | 1 | | | |
| Care of Children: Illness | | | | | | |
| Recreational Activities | | | | 1 | | |
| Initiates Arguments | | | | | | |
| Displays Religious Practices | | | | | | |
| Joking, Teasing | | | | 1 | | |
| Teaching Sex Education | | | | | | |
| Displays Violence | | | | | | |
| Complaints about Spouse | 1 | | | | | |
| Complaints about Children | | 2 | | | | |
| Apologies | | | | | | |
| Compliments | | | | | | |
| Assists | | | | | | |
| Comforts | | | | | | |
| Discussion | | | | | | |
| Forgiveness: Extra-marital | | | | | | |
| Discussion: Extra-marital | | | | | | |
| Accuses Spouse of Extra-marital Affairs | | | | | | |
| Leaves Spouse | 1 | | | | | |
| Purchases Gifts | | | | | | |
| Displays Jealousy | | | | | | |
| Complaints about In-laws | | | | | | |
| Waits up for Spouse | | | | | | |
| Coaxes Spouse | | | | | | |
| Complaints about Son | | | | | | |
| Advises Spouse/Business | | | | | | |
| Returns to Spouse | | | | | | |
| Refuses Physical Contact | | | | | | |

Table 24

Classification of television programs by type and number^{a, b}

| <u>Classification Number</u> | | <u>Program Type</u> |
|------------------------------|--------------------|--|
| 1 | | Concert Music (Symphonies) |
| 2 | Musical Format | Musical Variety |
| 3 | | Orchestral |
| 4 | | Comedy Variety (Featured Comedian) |
| 5 | Variety Format | Vaudeville |
| 6 | | Semi-variety (music + comic spots) |
| 7 | | Talent Contest |
| 8 | | Hillbilly Variety |
| 9 | | Low-budget Variety (Emcee + interviews) |
| <u>10</u> | | <u>Prestige Drama (One hour or more)</u> |
| <u>11</u> | | <u>Light, Situation Comedy drama</u> |
| 12 | Dramatic Format | Informative Drama (Historical settings) |
| 13 | | Adventure Drama (Foreign lands) |
| 14 | | Detective/Crime |
| 15 | | Psychological Drama |
| 16 | | Western Drama |
| 17 | | Adventure Serials |
| <u>18</u> | | <u>Daytime Serials</u> |
| 19 | | Children's Drama |
| 20 | Human Interest | Interview Programs |
| 21 | | Sympathy Arousing |
| <u>22</u> | | <u>Studio Quiz</u> |
| 23 | | Telephone Quiz |
| 24 | | Stunt (Audience participation) |
| 25 | | Teenage Dance |
| 26 | | Panel Quiz |
| 27 | Talk Entertainment | Dialogue |
| 28 | | Children's Story-Telling |
| 29 | Talk Information | News and Commentary |
| 30 | | Sports News |
| 31 | | Religious Talk |
| 32 | | Informative (Farm news) |
| 33 | | Public Affairs |
| 34 | | Documentary |
| 35 | | Sports Specials |
| 36 | Visual Format | Actuality Broadcasts (Political conventions) |
| 37 | | Travel or Documentary |
| <u>38</u> | Movie Format | <u>Movies</u> |

^aClassification according to Charles Connolly, Telecommunicative Arts Department, Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa

^bUnderlined Numbers and Types Composed the Sample Types

THE APPENDIX B

The three networks and program types were compared by rates to discern which presented the most marital and familial materials per program, exclusive minute, and recording unit. Specific programs were likewise analyzed. Also included in the analyses are the subject-matter and program scores, both overall or general indicators. These are discussed first in Appendix B followed by the specific indicators comparing programs as well as networks.

Overall Indicators: Comparisons Between Networks and Program Types

There are two overall indicators that need to be reviewed so that comparisons at a general level can be made. These two indicators are the subject-matter score and the program score. The subject-matter score refers to the percentage of all the scenes in the sample programs that contained the subject-matter contemporary marital and familial action in a conjugal setting. Overall, CBS had a slightly higher subject-matter score than did NBC. However, these were so close that it is not conclusive that CBS programs definitely contain more of the subject-matter than NBC. ABC was third in the percentage of all its scenes that contained the subject-matter.

In terms of program types, there were three main types of programs analyzed. (Presently excluding Studio Quiz shows and Prestige Drama.) Looking at the subject-matter scores by program type, of these three, the "Movies" had the highest subject-matter score followed by the "light situation comedies" and the "serials". By networks, NBC's serials had the

highest subject-matter scores followed by CBS and ABC. CBS's "light situation comedies" had a higher subject-matter score than did ABC or NBC. NBC placed third in this category. Concerning the movies, NBC topped the list with a subject-matter score higher than that of CBS or ABC. (See tables 25 through 29 for the subject-matter scores and program scores by networks.)

Another indicator utilized is the "program score". The program score is a summated score that expresses the overall presence of marital and familial material in the programs analyzed. It is computed by adding the subject-matter score, the rate per program, the rate per minute and the rate per recording unit. The subject-matter score is included because it depicts how much of the program contained marital and familial scenes. The rate per program displays the frequency of marital and familial acts as a part of all the scenes in the program. The rate per minute reflects the concentration of marital and familial acts in time. The rate per recording unit expresses the intensity of marital and familial acts in the marital and familial scenes analyzed. This score, then, gives weight to the extent that marital and familial activities prevail at all in the programs. In addition, it also expresses the frequency as well as the saturation or intensity of marital and familial behavior. This score is, of course, additive. Therefore, if all the components change in the same direction, the index will reflect this accumulation; if they counter one another, the score will be accordingly affected.

The program scores by networks indicate that NBC's programing had an overall greater intensity and frequency of marital and familial content, followed by CBS and ABC. This was the case even though CBS had more ex-

clusive hours than did both NBC and ABC. Figure 9 displays the networks rankings.

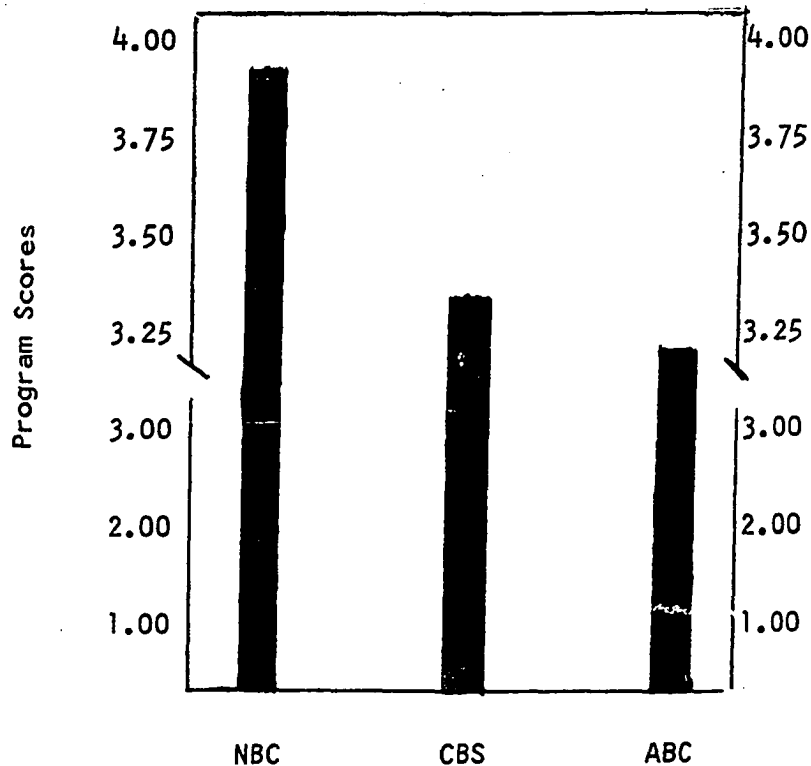


Figure 9

Program scores by networks

Similar rankings exist for the network's program scores by "program types". By "serials" NBC came first followed by CBS and ABC. The same rankings continue for the three networks for their "light situation comedies". However, the order is reversed for the networks when looking at "Movies"; ABC ranked first followed by CBS and NBC. The following figure compares the networks by the above three types of programs.

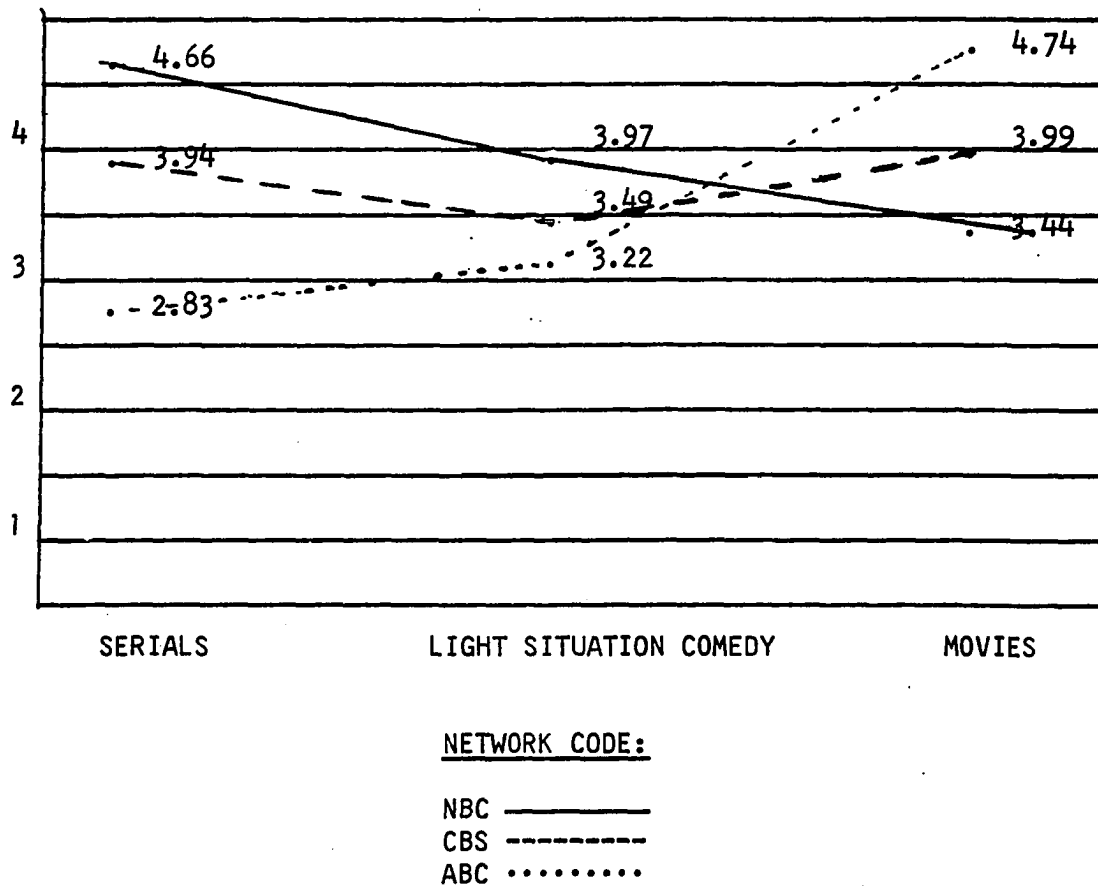


Figure 10

Program scores of networks by type of program

If a television viewer were specifically interested in restricting his attention to contemporary marital and familial material focusing especially on interaction between members of the conjugal family, he would have the greatest likelihood of finding the highest intensity of the material in serials broadcast by NBC with an overall program score of 4.66. Although an ABC program had a higher program score (4.74), this was in the "Movies". It is with a smaller degree of certainty that one could depend on the movies to remain consistent over time in the type of program content

broadcast. Consistency of the subject-matter over time is more likely with the "serials".

Specific Measures: Comparisons Between Networks and Program Types

As noted previously, NBC had the highest overall program score of 3.84 compared to 3.36 for CBS and 3.23 for ABC. In terms of subject-matter scores, CBS was very slightly higher with 35% of its subject-matter programs presenting contemporary marital and familial scenes: NBC was 34% and ABC 26%. Since this is such a negligible difference between NBC and CBS, it is not possible to state conclusively that one ranks higher.

Concerning the rate per program, which displays the frequency of marital and familial acts as a part of all the scenes in the programs, NBC ranks first followed by CBS and ABC. In terms of the rate per exclusive minute, or the frequency of marital and familial acts per exclusive minute of broadcast, NBC and ABC are very similar, with NBC being very slightly higher. CBS ranked third on this indicator.

In terms of the intensity or concentration of acts per recording units, NBC's programs displayed slightly more than two marital and familial acts per marital and familial scene. CBS and ABC displayed almost two acts per recording unit with 1.85 and 1.81 respectively. Generally, then, in terms of the specific measures (as well as the overall program score) NBC is the network with the largest concentration or has the highest intensity of the three major networks of those programs broadcasting the subject-matter.

Table 25

Selected measure: Program scores by networks

| | Network | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------|------|------|
| | NBC | ABC | CBS |
| Subject-Matter Score: (SMS) | .34 | .26 | .35 |
| Rates: | | | |
| (R/P) Rate per program | .74 | .47 | .59 |
| (R/M) Rate per minute | .70 | .69 | .57 |
| (R/RU) Rate per Recording Unit | 2.06 | 1.81 | 1.85 |
| Program Scores: | | | |
| PS=(SMS) + (R/P) + (R/M) + (R/RU) | 3.84 | 3.23 | 3.36 |

Looking at specific measures of networks by serials, NBC's programs had a subject-matter score of .35, CBS .19 and ABC .12. The rate per program displays the same rankings; the same rankings hold for the rate of marital and familial acts per minute. However, on the rate per recording unit, CBS is slightly higher than NBC with almost three acts (2.85) per unit as compared to 2.70 acts for NBC. ABC portrayed two and one-third acts per recording unit.

Table 26

Selected measures: Program scores of serials by networks

| | Network | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------|------|------|
| | NBC | ABC | CBS |
| Subject-Matter Score: (SMS) | .35 | .19 | .12 |
| Rates: | | | |
| (R/P) Rate per program | .95 | .56 | .27 |
| (R/M) Rate per minute | .66 | .34 | .11 |
| (R/RU) Rate per Recording Unit | 2.70 | 2.85 | 2.33 |
| Program Scores: | | | |
| PS=(SMS) + (R/P) + (R/RU) + (R/M) | 4.66 | 3.94 | 2.83 |

Thirty-seven percent of CBS's total scenes in its light situation comedies sampled portrayed the subject-matter, whereas the same is true for only 29% of ABC's and 21% for NBC. The rate per program ranks CBS first followed closely by NBC and ABC. In those programs displaying the subject-matter, CBS broadcast slightly more than one marital and familial act per minute. NBC and ABC broadcast less than one act per exclusive minute. However, NBC, in those scenes where the marital and familial action remained constant, broadcast two and one-third marital and familial acts per recording unit compared to only one and a half for both CBS and ABC.

Table 27

Selected measure: Program scores of light situation comedy by networks

| | Network | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------|------|------|
| | NBC | CBS | ABC |
| Subject-Matter Score: (SMS) | .21 | .37 | .29 |
| Rates: | | | |
| (R/P) Rate per program | .54 | .57 | .47 |
| (R/M) Rate per minute | .89 | 1.03 | .87 |
| (R/RU) Rate per Recording Unit | 2.33 | 1.52 | 1.59 |
| Program Scores: | | | |
| PS=(SMS) + (R/P) + (R/M) + (R/RU) | 3.97 | 3.49 | 3.22 |

For the three movies sampled, 52% of NBC's movies contained the sub-matter. For CBS's and ABC's movie, their subject-matter scores were 44% and 29% respectively. All three networks are quite similar in their rates per program. In rank order, respectively, the rates were: CBS - 78, ABC - 74, NBC - 73. The CBS movie did display slightly more marital and familial acts per exclusive minute than did ABC, and considerably more than NBC. The ABC movie had the greatest intensity and concentration of acts per recording unit portraying over two and one-half per recording unit. The CBS and NBC movies portray 1.77 and 1.41 acts per recording unit respectively.

Table 28

Selected measure: Program scores of movies by networks

| | Network | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------|------|------|
| | NBC | CBS | ABC |
| Subject-Matter Score: (SMS) | .52 | .44 | .29 |
| Rates: | | | |
| (R/P) Rate per program | .73 | .78 | .74 |
| (R/M) Rate per minute | .78 | 1.20 | 1.13 |
| (R/RU) Rate per Recording Unit | 1.41 | 1.77 | 2.58 |
| Program Scores: | | | |
| PS=(SMS) + (R/P) + (R/M) + (R/RU) | 3.44 | 3.99 | 4.74 |

Finally, looking at the three major types of programs (serials, light situation comedies, and movies) that comprise the sample, 42% of all the scenes in the three movies analyzed contained the subject-matter. The light situation comedies and the serials contained the subject-matter in respectively 31% and 23% of all their scenes. The rate per program is also highest for the movies; a rate of .75 as compared to .65 for the serials and .53 for the light situation comedies. The movies displayed slightly more than one act per exclusive minute while the light situation comedies displayed almost one (.91) and the serials about one third of an act (.39). However, in those scenes where the interaction between the incumbent of the status-role positions of husband-father and wife-mother with or without their children remain constant, the serials portrayed almost three

acts per scene. The movies displayed almost two (1.80) and the light situation comedies 1.66 per recording unit.

Table 29

Selected measures: Program scores by program type

| | Program Type | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|------|------|------|------|
| | 18 | 22 | 38 | 11 | 10 |
| Subject-Matter Score: (SMS) | .23 | .31 | .42 | .31 | .08 |
| Rates: | | | | | |
| (R/P) Rate per program | .65 | .42 | .75 | .53 | .19 |
| (R/M) Rate per minute | .39 | 1.55 | 1.02 | .91 | .20 |
| (R/RU) Rate per Recording Unit | 2.78 | 1.35 | 1.80 | 1.66 | 2.20 |
| Program Scores: | | | | | |
| (PS=(SMS) + (R/P) + (R/M) + (R/RU)) | 4.05 | 3.63 | 3.99 | 3.49 | 2.67 |
| Type 18 = Daytime Serials | Type 38 = Movies | | | | |
| Type 22 = Studio Quiz | Type 11 = Light Situation Comedy | | | | |
| | Type 10 = Prestige Drama | | | | |

Specific Measures: Comparisons Between Networks' Programs

The previous discussion focused on the more general overall comparisons between networks and program types. The focus now changes to a description of the differences between specific programs in terms of certain selected indices. These indices are: (1) the subject-matter score, (2) the rate per program, (3) the rate per minute, and (4) the rate per recording unit. Succinctly, in review, these refer to respectively: (1) the percentage of all the scenes in the program that were marital and

familial scenes, (2) the frequency of marital and familial acts as a part of all the scenes in the program, (3) the concentration or frequency of marital and familial acts in time, and (4) the intensity of acts in the marital and familial scenes.

The serials: Program comparisons looking first at the subject-matter scores of the serials finds NBC's "The Doctors" and "Another World" having the greatest portion of their scenes depicting constant interaction between husband and wife and/or with their children. Sixty percent and forty-five percent of the respective scenes were depicting marital and familial interaction. In terms of specific programs, the top five were: "The Doctors", "Another World", "The Guiding Light", "Search for Tomorrow" and "Love of Life".

NBC's "The Doctors" remains at the top of the rankings when looking at the serials by the "rate per program". This program had almost three marital and familial acts per scene, regardless of whether the scene was depicting contemporary marital and familial interaction. "The Doctors" is followed by CBS's "The Guiding Light" with 1.12 marital and familial acts per scene. NBC's "Another World" ranked third with 1.04 acts per scene; CBS's "Search for Tomorrow" had 1.01 acts per scene, fifth was CBS's "The Secret Storm" with .70 acts per scene. See Tables 30 through 32.

Taking the lead in the frequency of marital and familial acts per exclusive minute is NBC's "Another World". A marital and familial act took place at a rate of almost one (.92) per exclusive minute. This program is followed closely by CBS's "Search for Tomorrow" (.67) and NBC's "The Doctors". Of the remaining top five serials, both are broadcast by CBS - "Where the Heart Is" (.38) and "The Secret Storm" (.34).

Looking at the serials by the rate per recording unit, NBC's "The Doctors" recaptures first place with almost five (4.8) marital and familial acts taking place in each marital and familial scene or "recording unit". In other words, "The Doctors" displayed the greatest frequency or intensity of interaction and specific marital and familial acts of any serial sampled. This rate indicates that with the interaction between the incumbents of the status-role positions of husband-father, wife-mother with or without children, remaining constant, almost five different marital and familial acts were portrayed.

Four other programs also had a high intensity or frequency of marital and familial acts in each of the recording scenes. In rank order these were: "The Secret Storm", "The Edge of Night", "Where the Heart Is", and "As the World Turns". Each of these had at least four marital and familial acts per recording unit; the range in these programs was from 4.44 to 4.00. The remaining programs had rates ranging from slightly more than one to three acts per recording unit.

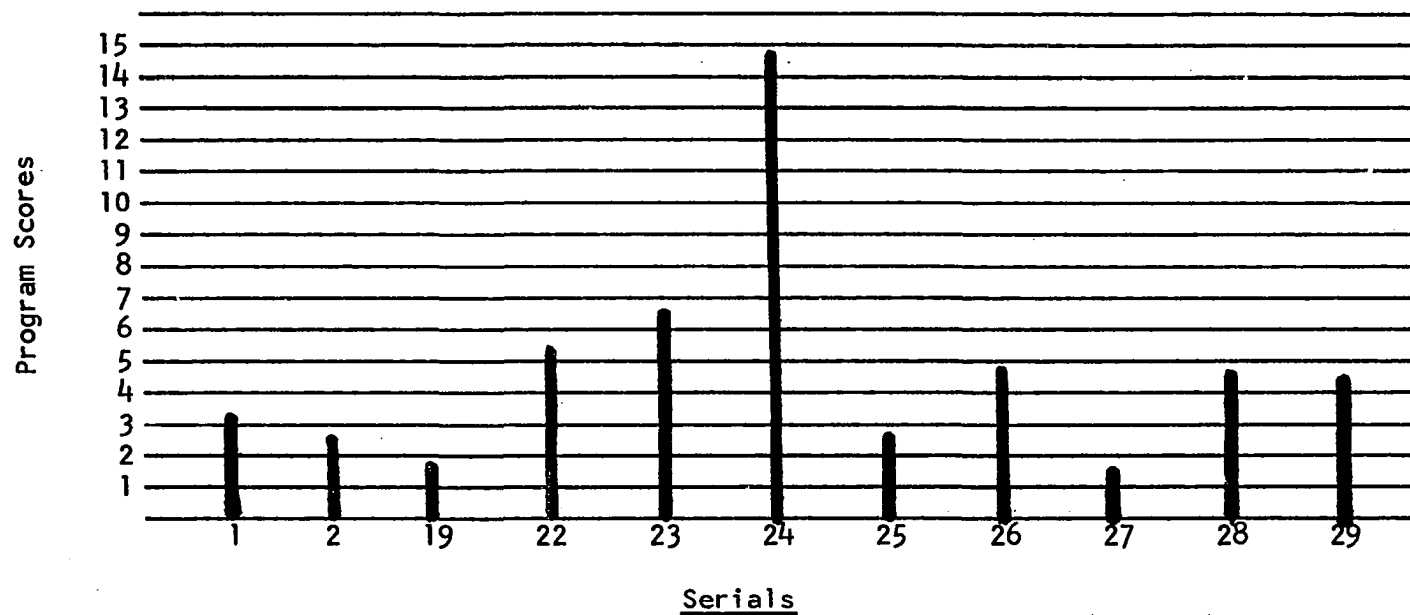
In terms of the overall indicator (program score), the ranking of the top five serials would include: "The Doctors", "The Guiding Light", "As the World Turns", "Search for Tomorrow", and "The Secret Storm". However, it must be kept in mind that the overall score as reflected in the program score is affected by variations in any or all of the specific indices that make it up. In other words, just because a program has a high program score, this does not necessarily mean that it was high in all of its specific indices. Therefore, it is necessary that one keep in mind his specific need or interest in reviewing these various indicators. Figure 11,

page 202, displays the program scores of the serials.

The Light Situation Comedies: CBS's "All in the Family" broadcast twenty-eight scenes in the program analyzed; of these, nineteen (68%) were depicting constant interaction between members of a conjugal unit. This "light situation comedy" had the highest subject-matter score of any of this program type. CBS programs also captured the other two top positions in its programs "Hazel" and "The New Dick Van Dyke" series with respective scores of 51 and 46. NBC's "Sanford and Son" was fourth with 43% of its scenes portraying this interaction; CBS's "Bridget Loves Bernie" was fifth with 41% of its scenes portraying this interaction. If one prefers to watch light situation comedies as opposed to serials, and his favorites include any one of the above five, this viewer will be exposed to a high degree of scenes depicting contemporary marital and familial interaction.

Looking at marital and familial acts as part of all the scenes in the program, "The Partridge Family" had the highest rate (2.40) per program. Tied for second place were "All in the Family" and "Bob Newhart", with a rate of 1.00. The remaining two positions of the top five go respectively to CBS's "The New Dick Van Dyke" (.94) and NBC's "Sanford and Son" (.74).

Regarding the rate per exclusive minute of marital and familial acts, "Bridget Loves Bernie" displayed almost two (1.97) acts per minute of non-commercial programming. Two CBS programs - "All in the Family", and "The New Dick Van Dyke" - broadcast respectively 1.40 and 1.32 acts per minute. The remaining two top spots went to ABC's "Bewitched" and "Paul Lynde" with rates of 1.14 and .87 respectively.



Analysis Number Code:

| | | |
|------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 -- Days of Our Lives | 23 -- Search for Tomorrow | 27 -- Edge of Night |
| 2 -- All My Children | 24 -- Doctors | 28 -- The Guiding Light |
| 19 -- Love of Life | 25 -- Where the Heart Is | 29 -- As the World Turns |
| 22 -- Secret Storm | 26 -- Another World | |

Figure 11

Program scores of serials for sample week by analysis number

Looking at the recording unit per se, five marital and familial acts were displayed in "Bob Newhart" per each marital and familial scene.

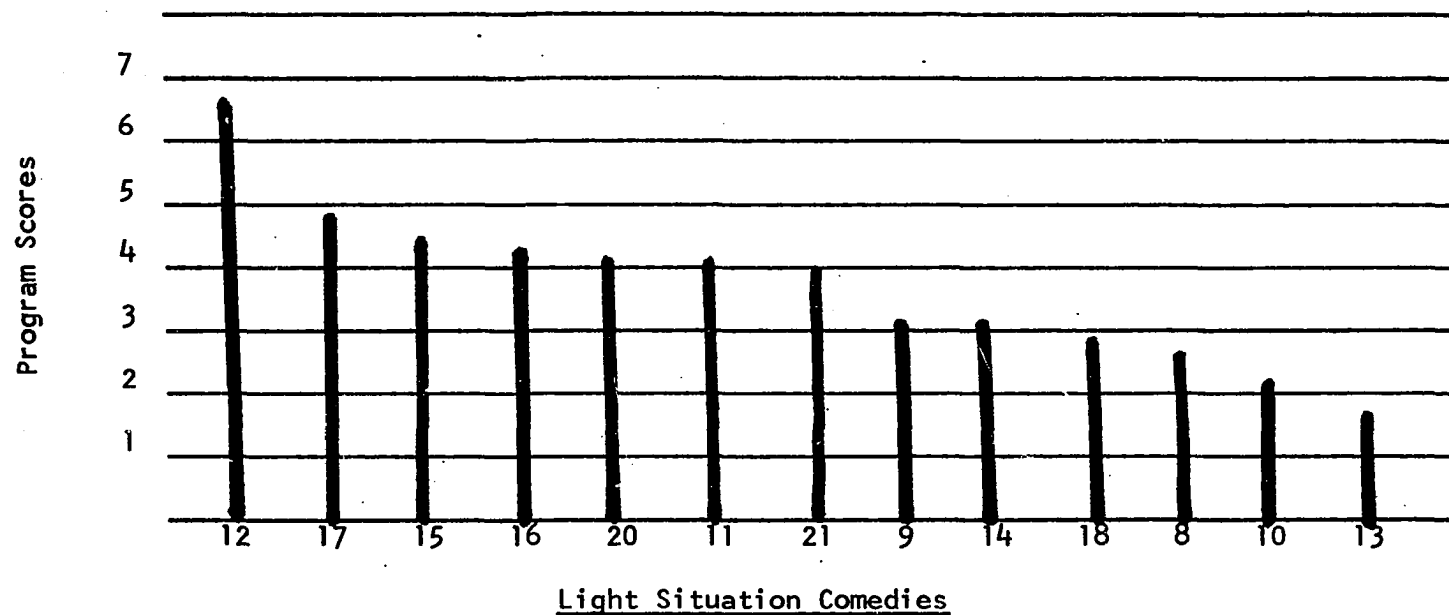
This program, then, had the greatest intensity or concentration of marital and familial acts of any light situation comedy sampled. NBC's "Dick Van Dyke" and CBS's "The New Dick Van Dyke" were respectively second and third with 2.70 and 2.06 acts per recording unit. "Sanford and Son" and "The Partridge Family" were fourth and fifth with rates of 1.70 and 1.66 respectively. "All in the Family" ranked sixth portraying only 1.47 marital and familial acts per recording unit.

Perhaps a few words of explanation are necessary at this point regarding the different rankings occupied by the same program in the above discussion. "All in the Family's" subject-matter score indicated that 68% of all the scenes depicted marital and familial interaction. The remaining 32% of the scenes - constant interaction between the same two actors - pertained to non-marital or non-familial matters. This program was second in both the rate per program and the rate per minute. Both of these rates give an indication of what happened in terms of marital and familial acts: first in terms of all the scenes (the whole program), and secondly, in terms of the time or duration various marital and familial interactions were taking place. In other words, regarding both rates, other light situation comedies had more marital and familial acts taking place in terms of the total program or in terms of broadcast minutes, than did "All in the Family". Its dropping out of the top five programs indicates that for each marital and familial scene, relative to other programs, "All in the Family" did not portray or did not have much intensity or frequency of

acts per scene. For example, each time an incumbent in the status-role position of husband-father or wife-mother on the "Bob Newhart" program interacted with his respective spouse or child, five acts took place as compared to slightly more than one by the incumbents of the same positions in "All in the Family". One, therefore, could state that the interaction between spouses and/or with children on the "Bob Newhart" show is more intense than that on "All in the Family".

The program scores of the light situation comedies rank the top five shows as: "Bob Newhart", "The New Dick Van Dyke", "All in the Family", "Sanford and Son", and "Bewitched". The first three are broadcast by CBS, the fourth by NBC, and that last by ABC. Figure 12, page 205 displays the program scores for light situation comedies.

The same discussion as above could be outlined for the "Movies", "Prestige Dramas", and "Studio Quiz" programs included in the sample. However, this would not appear necessary since each is so small in frequency. The following tables (30-32) indicate the rankings for all five types of programs analyzed in the sample.



Analysis Number Code:

| | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| 12 -- Bob Newhart | 20 -- Bewitched | 14 -- Maude |
| 17 -- Dick Van Dyke (CBS) | 11 -- Bridget Loves Bernie | 18 -- Hazel |
| 15 -- All in the Family | 21 -- Dick Van Dyke (NBC) | 8 -- Paul Lynde |
| 16 -- Sanford and Son | 9 -- Brady Bunch | 10 -- Partridge Family |
| | | 13 -- Mayberry |

Figure 12

Program scores of light situation comedies for sample week by analysis number

Table 30

Rankings of serials by subject-matter score, rate per program,
rate per minute, and rate per recording unit

| <u>SERIAL TITLE</u> | <u>NETWORK</u> | <u>SUBJECT-MATTER SCORE</u> | | <u>RATE PER PROGRAM</u> | | <u>RATE PER MINUTE</u> | | <u>RATE PER RECORDING UNIT</u> | |
|---------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|--------------|-------------------------|-------------|------------------------|-------------|--------------------------------|-------------|
| | | <u>RANK</u> | <u>SCORE</u> | <u>RANK</u> | <u>RATE</u> | <u>RANK</u> | <u>RATE</u> | <u>RANK</u> | <u>RATE</u> |
| Days of Our Lives | NBC | 7 | 19 | 7 | .45 | 6 | .26 | 10 | 2.30 |
| Doctors | NBC | 1 | 60 | 1 | 2.90 | 3 | .64 | 1 | 4.80 |
| As The World Turns | CBS | 9 | 15 | 6 | .59 | 8 | .20 | 5 | 4.00 |
| Another World | NBC | 2 | 45 | 3 | 1.04 | 1 | .92 | 8 | 2.29 |
| All My Children | ABC | 10 | 14 | 9 | .33 | 10 | .10 | 8 | 2.29 |
| Search for Tomorrow | CBS | 4 | 23 | 4 | 1.01 | 2 | .67 | 7 | 2.33 |
| Secret Storm | CBS | 7 | 19 | 5 | .70 | 5 | .34 | 2 | 4.44 |
| Where the Heart Is | CBS | 6 | 20 | 8 | .37 | 4 | .38 | 4 | 4.25 |
| Edge of Night | CBS | 11 | 14 | 11 | .14 | 11 | .05 | 3 | 4.42 |
| Love of Life | CBS | 5 | 22 | 10 | .27 | 7 | .22 | 11 | 1.18 |
| The Guiding Light | CBS | 3 | 38 | 2 | 1.12 | 9 | .14 | 6 | 3.00 |

Table 31

Rankings of the light situation comedies by subject-matter score,
rate per program, rate per minute, and rate per recording unit

| <u>LIGHT SITUATION COMEDY</u> | <u>NETWORK</u> | <u>SUBJECT-MATTER: RANKING</u> | | <u>RATE PER PROGRAM: RANKING</u> | | <u>RATE PER MINUTE: RANKING</u> | | <u>RATE PER RECORDING UNIT: RANKING</u> | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|------------------------------------|--------------|--|-------------|---|-------------|---|-------------|
| | | <u>RANK</u> | <u>SCORE</u> | <u>RANK</u> | <u>RATE</u> | <u>RANK</u> | <u>RATE</u> | <u>RANK</u> | <u>RATE</u> |
| Sanford and Son | NBC | 4 | 43 | 5 | .74 | 10 | .65 | 4 | 1.70 |
| Dick Van Dyke | NBC | 11 | 16 | 11 | .43 | 9 | .70 | 2 | 2.70 |
| The New Dick Van Dyke | CBS | 3 | 46 | 4 | .94 | 3 | 1.32 | 3 | 2.06 |
| Paul Lynde | ABC | 9 | 29 | 12 | .38 | 5 | .87 | 10 | 1.33 |
| Bewitched | ABC | 8 | 33 | 6 | .62 | 4 | 1.14 | 8 | 1.36 |
| Brady Bunch | ABC | 7 | 36 | 9 | .49 | 7 | .85 | 9 | 1.35 |
| Partridge Family | ABC | 12 | 15 | 1 | 2.40 | 11 | .42 | 5 | 1.66 |
| Bridget Loves Bernie | CBS | 5 | 41 | 7 | .53 | 1 | 1.97 | 11 | 1.29 |
| Hazel | CBS | 2 | 51 | 9 | .49 | 10 | .65 | 13 | 1.28 |
| Bob Newhart | CBS | 10 | 20 | 2 | 1.00 | 5 | .87 | 1 | 5.00 |
| Maude | CBS | 6 | 40 | 8 | .51 | 7 | .85 | 11 | 1.29 |
| All in the Family | CBS | 1 | 68 | 2 | 1.00 | 2 | 1.40 | 6 | 1.47 |
| Mayberry | CBS | 13 | 13 | 13 | .15 | 12 | .32 | 7 | 1.43 |

Table 32

Rankings of the movies, prestige drama, and studio quiz
by subject-matter score, rate per program, rate per minute
and rate per recording unit

| <u>MOVIE TITLE</u> | <u>NETWORK</u> | <u>SUBJECT-MATTER SCORE</u> | | <u>RATE PER PROGRAM:</u> | | <u>RATE PER MINUTE:</u> | | <u>RATE PER RECORDING UNIT</u> | |
|---------------------------------|----------------|---------------------------------|--------------|--------------------------|-------------|-------------------------|-------------|------------------------------------|-------------|
| | | <u>RANK</u> | <u>SCORE</u> | <u>RANK</u> | <u>RATE</u> | <u>RANK</u> | <u>RATE</u> | <u>RANK</u> | <u>RATE</u> |
| The Thrill of It All | ABC | 3 | 28 | 2 | .74 | 2 | 1.13 | 1 | 2.57 |
| The Diary of A Mad Housewife | NBC | 1 | 51 | 3 | .73 | 3 | .78 | 3 | 1.41 |
| Never Too Late | CBS | 2 | 44 | 1 | .78 | 1 | 1.19 | 2 | 1.77 |
| <u>PRESTIGE DRAMA</u> | | | | | | | | | |
| Owen Marshall | ABC | | 8 | | .19 | | .20 | | 2.20 |
| <u>STUDIO QUIZ</u> | | | | | | | | | |
| Newlywed Game | ABC | | 42 | | .42 | | 1.55 | | 1.35 |

THE APPENDIX C

The Recording Instrument

Program Title _____ Copyright Year _____ Network _____

| Marital and Familial Acts | Direction of Interaction | | | | | | Comments |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|------------------|-----------------------|------------------|-----------------------|----------|
| | Husband to Wife | Wife to Husband | Father to Son | Father to Daughter | Mother to Son | Mother to Daughter | |
| Expresses Concern | | | | | | | |
| Expresses Interest | | | | | | | |
| Verbal Affection | | | | | | | |
| Physical Affection | | | | | | | |
| Household Chores | | | | | | | |
| Financial Concerns | | | | | | | |
| Disciplines Children | | | | | | | |
| Care of Children | | | | | | | |
| Recreational Activities | | | | | | | |
| Initiates Arguments | | | | | | | |
| Religious Acts | | | | | | | |
| Joking, Teasing | | | | | | | |
| Violence | | | | | | | |
| Others: | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |

General Theme Portrayed _____ Exclusive Minutes _____

The Recording Instrument (cont.)

Additional Items of Interest:

Occupation of Husband _____

Occupation of Wife _____

Number of Children Male _____ Female _____

Additional "family" members in same house (e.g. maid) _____

Family Composition: Conjugal (Husband, Wife, Children) _____

Broken Conjugal: _____

Why: Death _____ (Which member)

Divorce _____ (Which absent)

Separation _____ (Which absent)

Consanguine: _____ List Members: _____

Family Residence Pattern: Neolocal _____

Patrilocal _____

Matrilocal _____

Family Authority Pattern: Patriarchal _____

Matriarchal _____

Democratic _____

Family Council _____
(progeny have = votes with parents)

The Recording Instrument (cont.)

Record of the NON-MARITAL, NON-FAMILIAL scenes in the subject-matter program. (Does not include those tallied under marital and familial scenes. Includes all scenes regardless of whether or not incumbents of marital and familial statuses are portrayed.)

FREQUENCY:

Acts portrayed by the incumbents of the husband-father, wife-mother statuses-roles NOT TOWARD each other or progeny.